National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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"The Peculiar Institution."

Mrs. Swisshelm of the (Pittsburgh) *Saturday Visiter*, thus replies in her own peculiar and spirited style, to somebody who had criticised some statement of hers touching the condition of society in the slave States:

"It was ourself, Mrs. Swisshelm, not Mr. Riddle, who was threatened with a coat of tar and feathers in Kentucky, and this not for delivering a stump speech: at that time we had not written a line for publication, and as little supposed we ever should, as that we should deliver a public lecture on any subject. It was for expressing our opinion in a parlor, in presence of a dozen persons, most of them gentlemen, and our opinion had been asked for: but it was not a Southerner who uttered the chivalrous threat. It was a renegade Philadelphian who volunteered to act spaniel on the occasion. Some Kentuckians agreed with him, that we were actually in danger of personal violence: and a Mississippian apologized for the hazard which he admitted to exist, on the ground that there was actual danger to the permanency of their institutions, if persons were permitted to express such opinions as we did. We told him, in answer, that if their institutions stood on such a rotten foundation that a woman's breath could blow them over, they had better stand from under, lest the fabric should fall and crush them. We made it a point never to force our opinions upon any one, but when it was inquired how we liked the place, as every Kentuckian was sure to do, we told him plainly, and never, but in the one instance, met with rudeness. From that short residence in Louisville, we formed our opinion of Slavery, and could never tell half how much we hate it. Almost every one admits it to be an evil, and Southern legislators must be very poor managers when they cannot devise some way of removing it.

"We were young when there; in appearance not more than 18, had been brought up in a country village, we had fancied ourself somewhat of a belle and beauty. We had run wild in the woods, with company or without, as suited our fancy, talked philosophy with our beau, if we had one, or gave him a bit of sugar and bade him go home, as suited our humor; and nobody questioned our right to do so. We knew nothing about any city but Pittsburg, and here we sometimes went to church, staid very demurely, and came home with our gallant, if we liked him, or slipped off in the crowd and went to our lodgings alone, or with some female friend, without any reference to day or night. But when we went South we were enslaved, imprisoned, fenced up by a set of conventional rules, that they told us were the result of their peculiar institution. We dare not go to the pump for a drink if we had to suffer ever so much from thirst, in waiting until the servants came in. Our hostess, a Kentucky lady of the old school, would have tied us to the bed post first. We might walk alone in daylight in any place in the square bounded by Market and Walnut streets, First and Eighth; but the suburbs, with its beautiful walks, groves and private residences, was forbidden ground. When the sun was fully down, we were forbidden to go to the door without a protector, or outside of this charmed square with one. We could not go on the street without being *stared* out of countenance by Kentucky gallantry. Our hostess said it was because the gentlemen had nothing to do, knew we were a stranger, and looked like a grown up baby. We dare not go to house-keeping and do our work, for oh lack-a-daisy, a white woman to work! Nobody but the Dutch did that. We almost wished to be Dutch, or to be anything that would make us less of a slave.—What a time we were put in, like a squirrel in a flour barrel, and how intensely we learned to hate your institutions, Mr. Ploughboy!

"A few days after our arrival, a gentleman came to our boarding house and took a room for himself and wife. When they came, whispers were circulated in all parts of the house, as to the probabilities of their being married. We were overwhelmed with astonishment, but soon got used to such surmisings about every stranger; and learned after a while that we had been taken for a runaway school girl, and our bigger half a stray German Baron, Spanish smuggler, or Texan ranger, who was hiding from some of his other wives. One could not go out or come in, look out of a window or stand in a door, for fear some gesture would be construed into some masonic signal to somebody. Every third woman was spoken of as a suspicious character, and as for the men, they had no character at all. The neighbor over the way who lived in the very handsome brick with double parlors, had a great, big, ugly black woman, for his wife, and was raising a family of his own children for sale.

"That mulatto a little up the street, had a family of dark brunette daughters, and just as many blonds. To each one of the blonds he had presented one of the brunetts just as he would have presented ponies. The mother of the dark girls, who were by far the handsomer, he had sold at auction for $800. An Irishman two squares off, beat his black man to death, in open day, because he was jealous of him and a slave woman with whom he lived. Every sixth woman on the street wore some article of dress, as a badge of infamy, and any one happening to get out in one of these, a sun-bonnet, for instance—was liable to open insult anywhere, or at any hour. We began to feel as one in his best clothes, feels amongst a set of children eating bread and molasses.

"Nothing appeared so thoroughly disgraceful as work. This was the business of slaves; and it appeared generally conceded that a white woman would secretly sell her honor, rather than submit to the disgrace of working for a living. Certainly, hundreds did so, for it was reckoned there was full 700 women in the city who were utterly abandoned. Girls who had no means of support, except sponging, sat nursing their white hands, waiting to catch husbands to support them. When they did get one, in very many cases, he was not able to keep them in idleness, and so he ran away; and so we never saw so many "grass-widows."

"But it would take us a year to trace the curse of Slavery through all the ramifications of society. We never saw so much trouble in house-keeping. One hired girl here, for $1,50 per week, would do as much work, and do it better, than two slaves there for whom one would pay two hundred per annum. We did go to house-keeping, but would not hire a slave. Once we wanted help; a great big fellow who dressed in satin and broadcloth, sported a gold chain and havanna, and did nothing, proposed to Mr. Swisshelm, to hire him an old woman, for whose services he should pay him $200 a year, and added:

"You would have to horsewhip her yourself once or twice a week, for she's a real devil, but a good worker, and that wife of yours could do nothing with her."

"Now, Mr. Ploughboy, just imagine the man we call husband, a great brawny six footer, who had been brought up on the free hills of Pennsylvania, and there held a plow, taking off his coat to horsewhip an old woman, to make her do work for which he was to pay, not her, but another big fisted lord of creation like himself. Oh Dear! We were always glad he did not incline to fight, but that time we were provoked he had not knocked the fellow's teeth down his throat. This experience has grown very long. Some other time we will tell you more of it, Mr. Ploughboy.

"About that property question. If we had signed a solemn declaration, paraded it before the world, and reiterated it a thousand times, saying we believed all property was common, we should act very inconsistently in punishing a man for taking what he wanted of ours. Kentucky has declared that 'ALL men are endowed with an inalienable right to liberty'—how then can she punish a man for helping another to regain his liberty?

"It is not likely we shall ever put anything in the *Visitor* to incite slaves to rebellion. We never feel like talking to them. A rebellion would do them no good. It is slaveholders and people of the North who support Slavery, to whom every appeal should be made. They have the power to remedy this evil—an evil which presses upon all classes. The slaves can do nothing, and any one who, directly or indirectly, would attempt to involve them in any broil with their masters, would be an enemy to both, and little short of a madman. No one ever appeared to dream, when we were in the South, of one appealing to a slave, even for information concerning his or her state. We trusted only our eyes, and the testimony of persons anxious to make us think well of the system; and how we do hate it! We'd scorn alike to be, or have, a slave.' We will hit the system a knock whenever we can do it fairly and openly; but there is not a drop of mole blood in our veins and we cannot work in the dark. Lately we are getting a good many Southern subscribers, and quite a number of papers from that section are coming for exchange; and mind, good friends, we never cheated you—never came in false colors or borrowed plumes.

"If we were down at your houses in South Carolina, Georgia or Alabama, we would tell you our hatred of Slavery, more fully than we like to do here, and run the risk, if any there be. As for Mr. Riddle's being our bitter Abolitionist, it is too funny to think about. We do wish he were, but alas! he is only a Taylor Whig, and our abolitionism is the salt that preserves the *Visiter* and him both."

Selections.

KENTUCKY CONVENTION.

A warm debate ensued in the Kentucky Convention on the proposed clause of the Constitution providing for the division of the State into election precincts. The terrible spectre of Anti-Slavery, the unbidden but ever-present guest among Slaveholders, shook his rattling bones at the delegates from the interior of the State, who dread the greater growth of the river counties and the influence, upon the people, of their free-State neighbours. We make some extracts:

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Mr. Harden—There is a great deal of force in what the gentleman from Henderson said on Saturday. Like Absalom's fair speeches, he ran off with my heart; but I have thought of it since Saturday night, and I do not believe I am as badly bothered as the gentleman from Louisville thought I was. We know there is, on the river border, a population pouring in, whose business and pursuits are on the other side of the river. What is it that is swelling the population of Newport and Covington? Why, I am told it is the population of Cincinnati that is pouring in, not to make it a business place, but a home for their families, while their business is in Cincinnati. They have no feelings in common with us. It only shows that my fears are well founded, when one of the ablest men in Kentucky had to take the stump, or his antagonist, who was for emancipation, might have carried the whole county. It was fortunate that gentleman was there, and fortunate he had some good old Virginia feeling. I, too, have some of that feeling. I am no Yankee, no Anti-Slavery man. I would not give one good, stout, hearty Kentucky man for a dozen Cape Cod, or Passamaquaddy men; nor would I give a dozen Kentuckians for ten thousand East of the Rhine. I pity them but my feelings are for Kentucky, and for the slave population. I see they are to be swallowed up. I see it, that with the Wilmot Proviso, the slaveholding States will be swallowed up in forty years. But, thank God, I shall be gone before that time. I may, on some future occasion, speak further on this subject. My feelings are much like those of the gentleman from Bourbon. I pity these foreigners from my heart, but I love Kentucky and the slaveholding population; and I repeat what I said the other day, that if the whole of Europe were to unite to crush the United States, the last gun for liberty would be fired in the slaveholding States. The people of the slaveholding States regard liberty as a high personal privilege, which they would die for rather than give up: and where Slavery does not exist, they regard it as a political right.

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The President.—The principle upon which our government is established is universal suffrage. We proclaimed it in the old constitution, and we are about to proclaim it in the new. But it will have to be struck out, if this act of political injustice is perpetrated; because it will be false, utterly, totally, unconditionally, irremediably false to the people of Kentucky, and to the world. If a free people are equal and entitled to equal rights, that is a principle and no man who acknowledges the principle, if he acts consistently, but must carry it out in all its consequences, or he denies the principle, and says that we are not entitled to equal political rights. Well, if we are not entitled to them, and you deny that principle, where is it to end? Where is the limit to the inroads you will make on the political rights of a portion of your citizens? It will be in the will of a majority, based on no principle but that of expediency. And that majority will have a will not anchored by principle, but expediency, and it will lead to the very same degree of despotism that rules through the Autocrat of Russia, that tramples upon the rights and liberties of the continent of Europe, and has hitherto had no footing on the shores of America, or if a footing, the march and extension of free principles have been, since the days of the revolution, constantly in advance.

What is the reason endorsed by the gentleman from Madison for obliterating these principles? He says that the slave population will not be safe to their masters, if this principle is carried out. Three fourths of the votes that were cast for the delegation on this floor from the city of Louisville, were cast by men who held no slaves—by men who did not worship at that shrine—and they cast their votes on principle. They believed that our fathers when they framed this constitution, laid its foundations in justice, and they determined that they would stand upon the platform, that private property was not to be taken without just compensation—that it was the great privilege of a free people to lay it on that foundation, and keep it on that foundation. And as the law had authorized this property, and individuals had invested in it, if it was the public impulse that this species of property should be excluded, they thought they should compensate those who had acquired it; and soberly appealing to that principle of innate right, based on the foundation of the constitution, we appealed to men to stand by the rights to property as they would stand by the rights to liberty, equality, and equal rights, and we did not appeal in vain.

We stand here representing that people and that great principle, and it is thrown in our teeth that it is necessary to violate that principle, in order to secure our negroes. I would want no other reason and argument to give me double power and double force in agitating upon the subject of emancipation, than to tell a free people, free white men, that their rights have been violated and trampled in the dust, and their equal political privileges in this government have been silenced in the legislative halls of the country in order to save that property. How do gentleman expect to send back the delegates from the city of Louisville to their constituents? What answer do they expect them to make in relation to this question? They will say, you told us the foundations of this government were laid in justice, and that you would lay the foundations of the one you are framing the same, and would give equal laws and equal rights to all. We should say the balance of the State has deprived us of the voice of freedom, has trampled our rights in the dust. And, for what avowed reason? Because they feared the day would come when emancipation would have a head in the city of Louisville and upon the bordering counties. Thank God, emancipation has not drenched the fields of Louisville, or the bordering counties, with blood. The principles involved in this, and the reasons for carrying it out, are fraught with more evil to this institution than any other act this convention could possibly do. I tell these gentlemen who are in favor of the institution of Slavery, that if it can abide at all, it can only abide on the sentiments of justice and right to the holders of slaves. Slaveholders are not a majority in Kentucky. They never will be, and whenever you destroy that principle of right which deprives a man of the power of defending private property—when you trample upon the political rights of men in order to shield it, you have unloosed a force and power which will overturn this principle. If we are to be sacrificed, if our political principles are to be crushed, and our voice is no more to be heard in the country, for God's sake let it be for some other reason, and do not sanctify and make holy that abominable reason that will work against you most fearfully and awfully. There is a jealousy against the cities. Has Kentucky ever had any reason—any just reason—to be jealous of any of the cities in the State, large or small? And is she likely ever to have? Are they less public spirited—less desirous of enlightening the public mind, and sustaining free institutions? The city of Louisville established the first public schools where all went and received an education without charge, except from the public purse. Louisville now lays a tax on the property of her citizens of twelve and a-half cents per annum to sustain the public schools in order to enlighten the rising generation, and make them acquainted with their rights. She is in advance—she took the first step and is now in advance—of the balance of the State in reference to education.

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The gentleman from Madison says that the belt of counties, or that range lying along the Ohio river, will increase in population more rapidly than the whole balance of the State; and that that increase of population will be dangerous to the political ascendency of the balance of the State, in reference to a particular description of property; and therefore it must be guarded against in this constitution. That is his argument.

The honorable chairman of the committee, by the amendments he offers, proposes to limit the cities to a certain representation—provided—now the proviso has nothing to do with the subject matter, nor does it grow out of it—provided every body in this commonwealth shall have the right to go out of the commonwealth and bring in negroes for his own use. The gentleman is not contented with apportioning the representation as indicated in his amendment, and abandoning the principle of equal and uniform representation; but he wants us to engraft upon it a provision permitting free trade in negroes. Well, sir, if there are any portions of the people in this commonwealth, particularly those in the border counties of the State—as the gentleman from Madison maintains—that are opposed, or likely to be opposed, to the existence of the institution of Slavery, it will fall with a ten-fold force of revulsion upon those who shall not only be deprived of the right of suffrage, but shall also have this privilege endorsed upon it, as a sweetening of the dose, to make it go down.

The gentleman from Daviess thinks that there is not only a necessity for restraining Louisville, but all other cities that may ever grow up in the commonwealth of Kentucky, so that they shall have—no matter what their population may be—no matter what their situation may be—no more than a certain proportion of representation in the two houses of the general assembly. It is very likely there may grow up a great city at Maysville. Maysville is increasing rapidly in population, manufactures, and commerce. The county in which Maysville is situated, has increased very greatly within the last eight years. It is very likely that Newport and Covington will grow to be important cities, and that the counties in which they are situated, will grow to forty, fifty, sixty, nay, a hundred thousand within a very short period; and that Louisville from her fifty thousand may grow to one hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand; that Henderson, if the contemplated railroad should be made, may likewise grow up to be a great city; that Paducah, which has already a flourishing commerce, may grow to be a great city; and if the railroad from the Mobile to the mouth of the Ohio should ever be completed, and Louisville be connected with the Southern tier of counties, a great city must grow up at some point.—And Lexington will become a great interior manufacturing city when she has railroads running to the river, that will give her the benefit of cheap fuel.—And, sir, it is no idle expectation, when we look at the immense manufacturing cities that have grown up in England. And there will be other portions of Kentucky in which great cities will grow up.—There are now in the little island of Great Britain, more than twenty cities that exceed fifty thousand inhabitants, and which would have, under our system of laws, eight or ten thousand voters each. Well, if we were to have but ten cities in Kentucky in the course of the next fifty years, that shall have eight or ten thousand voters, why the ratio that the gentlemen allows to them would not give a representation to each. The gentleman must see that this is carrying the thing to extremes.

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And yet gentlemen tell us it is an abstraction to claim equality of representation. Now, sir, votes go by majorities, but when we enter upon doubles and trebles, it is a palpable outrage upon the principle of equality. It is true, we submitted to it because we believed it was a misconstruction, and we expected, if ever we came before the people on the subject, they would do us justice. The people of this commonwealth will never violate the great principle, equality of rights, and equality of representation.—But we are told this principle is not acknowledged, even in the representation of the house of representatives of the United States. That three-fifths of the black population go into the account in distributing the representation, and that makes it unequal. It is true that three-fifths of the black population are thrown in favor of the slave States, but otherwise the representation is just exactly according to the principle of equality, of political rights to all the free citizens of the nation. And whenever it comes to direct taxation, the slave States pay in dollars for that political advantage. It was a subject matter of compromise. Do the gentlemen propose any compromise with the cities? What equivalent are we to have, for having the voice of our constituents, the free citizens of cities, stifled in the legislative halls of the State? We pay one-tenth of the taxes for the support of the government of the State, over and above what supports our municipal government.—Each county and town supports a municipal government, and we support ours. But in the general charge and expenditure which falls alike on the whole State, we pay one-tenth, and we have but one thirty-eighth of the representation in the Senate, and but one-twentieth of the representation of the House. We are content to pay according to our privileges; but as we increase in population, and in wealth, the disproportion of our privileges will also be increased. And thus we shall be taxed for the benefit and support of the balance of the State, and we will not have a fair and equal voice in the legislation of the country, nor in the distribution of the money that is expended by the government. Do gentlemen think that we will esteem this a just government, that imposes upon us the contribution of taxes for the support of the State, without affording us an equal voice in the representation, so that we shall be less able to resist encroachments, that are made upon us.

I recollect being told by a Senator from Clarke, that he knew a number of farms in that county, upon which were living twenty-eight independent farmers, with their one hundred and fifty and two hundred acres, furnishing twenty-eight voters, and that it was afterwards reduced into one farm, the dwelling of the former tenants pulled down, the orchards cut down, and there was but one voter in the place of the twenty-eight, who formerly occupied the same land. I am not very familiar with that part of the country, but I am told it is the case, that the farms continue to be enlarged, and combined into the hands of individuals, that the small farmers are purchased out, and that they go to the free States, and that oxen take the place of men. Well, sir, as the population escapes, the political power escapes. I consider this a movement to retain the political power, after they have lost the population, after they have driven out the independent voters and replaced them with oxen. Let the gentlemen mark the day, when there shall be on the northern borders, within ten miles range from the Ohio river, twenty cities, with their 50, and 100,000 inhabitants and they shall out number the qualified voters, in the balance of this pastoral State, think you, they will not wrest from you the political rights you propose to take from them now. They will not be worthy the name of freemen, if they do not. The spirit that burned in the bosoms of the fathers of the revolution, that made them cast their all upon the die of the battles that won our liberty, that has been fostered in our Fourth of July orations, and at our elections, that has been whispered by mothers to their infants, has not perished, and will not perish, in the land. The spirit of freedom and equal rights will rise above all oppression, and it will avenge itself—that is the word sir—where it is downtrodden in this land, it will rise up and avenge itself; may it not have cause to avenge itself in blood.

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Mr. Harden.—I am somewhat unfortunate in getting into difficulties. I little expected when I rose this morning to get into this one. I said, when I addressed the convention this morning, that when I listened to my friend from Henderson on Saturday, and had listened to my young friend from Louisville, partly on Saturday and partly to-day, I was very much struck with the force of his argument, and on Saturday I was a good deal carried away with it; and I kept thinking the matter over, until I came to the conclusion that a reasonable check ought to be put upon cities that might become overgrown.

When Sheridan concluded his speech against Warren Hastings, the ministers moved an adjournment, because they said it was impossible for the house to vote until the force of that speech had subsided. Even Pitt, while listening to that speech, was not master of himself. Well, sometimes the impassioned eloquence of the genrleman from Henderson carries one off in the same way. But I kept thinking about it, and thinking about it, and I concluded at last that some check should be put upon overgrown cities, and I framed a proposition on the subject; which was just about this: that the county of Jefferson should continue her representation according to her number—and I did not include Louisville—but that the county should retain the number to which she was entitled. If she was entitled to two members she should have two. If by being united to some other county she was entitled to a senator, she should have a senator; and that Louisville alone should have a senator; but that neither Louisville, nor any other city, should ever have more than one senator, nor more than five members in the lower house. Now suppose the county of Jefferson has two members in the house of representatives, when this constitution goes into effect. And suppose that Louisville grows to such a size, as to entitle her to five. And suppose the city and the county together have two senators. Well, then sir, Louisville alone will have one twentieth part of the representation in the lower house, and Louisville and Jefferson county will have one nineteenth of the representation in the senate. And yet the gentleman says—in his own fine classical language—this is "*ter-in-icle.*" (Laughter.) I had thought it was called "tyrannical," but we have been taught some new things lately.

Now here is the city of Louisville having one twentieth part of the representation in the house of representatives, and the city together with the county of Jefferson, having one nineteenth part of the representation in the senate. Is there to be no check? And that is the amount of my proposition. I have not offered it yet, but I have intimated that I would do so at some future day. I do not know when it will come to my turn, but when it does I will offer it. And I was glad to find from the remarks of the gentleman from Ohio, that it agreed with his ideas that there must be some check. I will ask, is not the constitution of the United States a compromise? Is the appointment of representation in both houses according to the population? No sir—not at all. The slaveholding states got a representation for three fifths of their negroes; and sir, the smaller states get an equal representation with the greater in the senate. These are the two conservative principles that have been adopted in the constitution of the United States; and when we follow the action and ideas of such men as made that constitution—Madison and Washington, and their associates—we certainly will not be acting very "*ter-in-icly.*" When we can follow in Washington's footsteps, I may say, as Lord Nelson said to his captains when going into the battle of the Nile, "If in the darkness of the night you should not be able to follow my orders, you will not be much wrong, if you fight with all your might wherever you can find an opportunity." If we follow such men I think we shall not be far wrong.

I do say we should engraft into the constitution something like conservative principles. We know the gentleman from Madison spoke the truth, when he said the great body of the population that is collecting along the Ohio river, within the distance of ten or twenty miles from it, is opposed to the institution of Slavery. It is a very worthy population it is true, but it is a population that has little or nothing in comparison with the mass of the great agricultural population in Kentucky, and a large portion of that population I know is hostile to the institution of slavery; and as a self-preservative principle, we ought at least to put some wholesome and salutary check upon that population. I know the argument that representation must be according to numbers, is a strong one. I know it is a great republican principle, but there is a still greater republican principle than that, sir. If you and I were upon the Ohio river upon a single plank, and only one of us could escape, you have the right to shove me off, or I have the right to shove you off; and this self-preservation principle, it seems to me, requires that we should adopt this conservative principle and reject this population principle of representation as to cities. Our fathers who made the constitution of the United States, told us this: the leading features of that constitution declare it, and I am not ashamed to follow their guidance.

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Mr. Morris.—Mr. President, I have a resolution which I desire to offer. It is as follows:

Resolved, That whenever a city or town shall be entitled to a separate representation in either house of the general assembly, and by her numbers shall be entitled to more than one representative, such city, or town, shall be divided by wards, which are contiguous, into representative districts, as nearly equal as may be, equal to the number of representatives to which such city, or town, may be entitled, and one representative shall be elected from each district. In like manner shall said city, or town, be divided into senatorial districts, when, by the apportionment more than one senator shall be allotted to such city, or town, and a senator shall be elected from each senatorial district; but no ward or municipal division shall be divided by such division of senatorial or representative district.

In support of his proposition, Mr. Morris addressed the convention, at some length. He was followed by Messrs. Dixon, Williams, Garfielde, and Clarke.

Mr. Davis.—In relation to the leading feature of the resolution, and so far as that feature is common to both houses of the legislature—which proposes to establish single districts for the choice of both senators and representatives—I am in favor of it. But the latter branch of the proposition seems to forbid the principle that there is to be any restriction of the right of cities to representation in the senate according to numbers. I cannot give my assent to it. In relation to districting cities, I think it is in perfect conformity to the great principle of equal representation. If it were possible that the State of Kentucky could be laid out into a hundred geographical districts, each containing no more nor less than the ratio of representation, if the number of one hundred is to constitute the house of representatives, and would best secure the representation of the whole people, it would certainly be desirable. Well, sir, any regulation which approximates, in any degree, to that great popular principle which would be so desirable, and which would conduce so much to the general safety of the country, in my judgment, ought to receive the serious consideration and the approval of the convention. I will illustrate the position by this supposed case: Kentucky is divided, we will say, into two equal districts, so far as population is involved, and one half of the state is allowed to elect her representatives by general ticket, and the other is required to elect by single districts: which half would rule? Every gentleman will have but one answer ready to the question. We saw it illustrated a few years ago, in the election of the President of the United States, not exactly to that extent, but still to a degree that was controlling in its practical result. The great State of New York had thirty-eight electors, all elected by general ticket; the consequence was, her whole strength was thrown to one candidate, which controlled and decided the election. The same mode of electing her respresentatives to Congress would give her so much power as that she would generally hold the balance in that branch and decide all great questions. To prevent our cities from engrossing and concentrating, by the same principle, a dangerous amount of power, I am in favor of districting the election of representatives.

It seems to me that gentlemen here have proceeded on a fallacy—my friend from Henderson among others—in comparing the ratio of increase between the cities and the country. I think there will be a great disproportionate increase between the two in favor of the cities, and especially the cities located upon the Ohio river. Not only that, but the counties also located on that river from the convenience of navigation and other advantages which their position gives them, will necessarily experience an accelerated impulse in the increase of the population, greater than a natural increase would give them, and a disproportionate one over the rest of the State.

Mr. Dixon—The proposition I assumed was, that the cities would increase in the ratio of four hundred per cent., and the counties in the ratio of fifty per cent.

Mr. Davis—I beg pardon, then, for I had misunderstood the gentleman. I have a table of the increase of the population of Louisville at various periods, when this population was enumerated under the law of Congress. Louisville in 1810 had a population of 1,357,; in 1820, of 4 012; in 1830, of 10,-352; in 1840, of 21,125; and now, after the lapse of nine years of time, gentlemen say she has upwards 50,000 inhabitants. According to that rate of progress, in 1860, Louisville will have between 100 and 140 thousand people. Look at Covington, which is admitted to be the second city in size in the State. Independent of an intrinsic and peculiarly local principle of growth which Covington has, there is a cause at work much more potent in its operation in the proximate position of Cincinnati with her.

The great and continuous growth of the Queen of the West, in numbers, business and wealth, will necessarily build up Covington rapidly into a considerable city. In 1840, Covington had a population of 2,046, and now she has upwards of 10,000. What the city of New York has been to Brooklyn, will Cincinnati be to Covington. If, in 1860, Louisville numbers 125,000 people, Covington will probably have 75,000. The aggregate population of the two cities will be at least 200 000, and I have no doubt, at that time, one-fifth of the entire population of the State of Kentucky. Now the question is, are you going to give these cities an equal representation according to numbers, with the rest of the State, in both houses of your Legislature, Senate as well as the House of Representatives? I deny that, as a practical question, equality is ever exactly, or to a mathematical certainty, obtained in government, or the division and adjustment of political power among the people. We lay down the principle that there shall be equality both of right and power in our system—it is a general principle, but no man dreams, or if he does he is a dreamer indeed, that we ever can exactly attain to it. All that we do in practice is to approximate to it, and in that attempt he is an unwise man who endeavors to make that approximation so near as to destroy, or seriously to jeopardize the safety of the community at large. Self-protection and self-preservation is a greater and paramount principle to be considered in connection with it. Sir, this principle of an equal distribution of political power does not exist in any system, general or subordinate, in the United States, because practically it is unattainable, and if it were otherwise, it would be greatly inconvenient and unsafe, if it were practicable to put into operation in its universal and complete perfection. It does not exist in the general government, or in a single State government in the United States.

What is the declaration of Independence—what is this utopian principle that is so beautiful in theory, but when you attempt to put it exactly in practice always eludes your grasp? That all persons are by nature equal, and that in the business of government all persons have a perfect right to an equal share of the power. Why sir, woman is excluded in every system that prevails in the civilized world—and the youth under twenty-one years of age are excluded in all the American systems. Not only these, but numerous classes of male adults are excluded, not only from office, but from the right to vote itself. You make qualifications of citizenship, of residence, and of age, all proper in themselves, and you apply all these restrictions upon the natural right and the beautiful theoretical principle that all persons are equal, and all share equally the power of government. Well, what are these restrictions, but to modify and to restrict, in some degree, the operation of the general principle of equality? And when you apply this principle to those who are candidates for office, why, you make a further extension of these restrictions, and you further infringe upon this natural right of equality. Your governor, under the present constitution, is to be forty years of age; under the proposition the committee on the executive department has reported, he is to be thirty five; but it is not material which you require, as to him there is a qualification of age, an interdict of all under it from the office, and that beyond middle life. You subject Senators to a qualification of age, and Representatives also. You throw qualifications around every office of government, by which are excluded, from some, at least four-fifths of the aggregate population—from some, fully one-half of the adult male population, and from all, a very large amount of this adult male population. What a departure from, what a sacrifice of, this great principle of natural equality, in its application in the business and science of government! And why do you do this? Simply, because the good, the security, the self-preservation of the larger number requires it. The paramount principle, of the right and duty of the mass of the *men* of a country to protect themselves intervenes and modifies the other and subordinate right. You laid down the general principle of equality of power and right, as a great leading landmark, to blaze in beauty and splendor ahead of you, and it is your guide that directs you in fixing the barque of state in its course; but it is not the haven to which you are sailing. That port, the great end of all human government, is the security and the happiness of the greatest number; and so far as a safe anchorage on its deep and peaceful bosom requires the wise political mariner to depart from, and pass the guiding and cheering light house, "equality to all," he does it; and because this *beacon* light is not the *port* in which he is to rest, does not impair the truth or value of the great light by which alone he has been enabled to reach it.

In the formation of the constitution of the United States, there have been numerous and great departures from this principle of universal and perfect equality, and I suppose that instrument is as wisely and justly adapted to its ends, as any which this convention, or any other convention of this day could form. We have thirty States in this Union, and there is a perfect equality of representation in proportion to federal numbers, in all of these States, in the house of Representatives; and there is an absolute equality of them as States, without regard to popular numbers, in the Senate. And upon what principle, and for what reason, has this positive and absolute equality, without regard to numbers, been secured to each in the Senate? It is because, in all governments, there are two great principles of action—the one of action, or aggression if you please, and the other of resistance, of self-defence. And neither of these principles is to be lost sight of, by any wise body, in framing the fundamental law. Both these two principles are recognized, and operate in the organization of the house of representatives in Congress, elected as it is upon the principle of numbers, but by States; for whilst numerical representation gives the full capacity for progress, action, and aggression, this representation, not of a body, one and indivisable, a totality and a unit, but of separate States, produces an antagonism and conflict of interest, by which representation in the house also performs the function of protection and self-defence. But this constitution is a mixed and complicated structure. It was formed in the house for the people of the United States, acting by States; whilst in the Senate the State sovereignties and governments are represented, and provision made for their security. There were large States and small—Virginia and Delaware—New York and Rhode Island. The small States never would have signed the bond of this political partnership, unless it had secured, as it does, to them a power to protect themselves against the large States; and the latter knew this was the only condition upon which the association could be formed. Delaware and Rhode Island have each two Senators, and in that body as much power as the colossal New York and Virginia. What a vast departure from the principle of representation in proportion to numbers. It is said in this debate, that the case of the States and of the United States government are in no degree analagous to the counties and the cities of Kentucky. The subjects to which the principle is to be applied are different; but the principle is the same, and is equally applicable to both, and as necessary for its application in our constitution as well as in that of the United States. This principle is, that the safety and proper protection of the community at large is the paramount, predominating principle of our system, and others must yield to it. That for the purposes of protection, defence, and self-preservation, the large State must surrender in the Senate, to the small States, a large portion of their power; and the cities, for the same ends, in our Senate, must surrender to the counties and the rural population of the State a portion of their power. Such is the nature of all human government—for all involves a surrender of right, concession, and compromise. Nor is this required, in either case, for action or aggression, but only for security and defence. If the smaller States of the Union should combine in the Senate, and pass bills through that body, destructive of the rights and interests of the large States, their capacity for self defence in the house, by a representation there, based upon numbers, would be complete, and guard them from all wrong: whilst the same protection is assured to the small States, against the overwhelming strength, and all combinations of the great States, in the house, by their equality of power in the Senate. Without this ability to protect and preserve themselves, in the senate, the small States would long since have been devoured by the larger ones, as the smaller creatures of the deep are by its great leviathans. The small States had wise men to represent them in the convention, who were deeply read in the history, character, and nature of man. They knew that the possession of power, and particularly irresponsible power, corrupted his heart; and that he would be guilty of wrong and oppression, particularly when acting with a multitude; and these great men took measures timely and effective to protect their States, with a judgment and wisdom which stands vindicated by all subsequent experience. Will we profit by their example?

* * * * *

Kentucky has upwards of 200,000 slaves, worth $80,000,000, about one-fourth of her aggregate wealth. What is it that most threatens this vast amount of property and has most disturbed the owners in its legal and peaceable enjoyment? During years by-gone, before the opposite margin of the Ohio was inhabited, the slaves of Kentucky, in the enjoyment of all the comforts of a laboring population, kindly treated by their owners, mutually attached and trusting, the slave was contented and happy, and the master was unannoyed and secure in the possession of services of this property. But the Abolitionist came and seated himself in our neighborhood, and opened an intercourse with our slaves. He instilled in them discontent, disaffection and insubordination; and in all the border counties, the slaves now know no contentment, and the master has no assurance of his property in him. For many years, the great cause of the disturbance between the slave and the owner, in north Kentucky, has been the neighborhood of the free States beyond the Ohio: but the enemy has invaded our shores, and is now in our midst. I speak not of emancipationists, but of Abolitionists: those who abhor Slavery and desire to see it terminated by almost any means whatever. These people are amongst us, and they have increased, are increasing, and ought to be diminished. But who make up the emancipation party, that party which seeks to abolish Slavery without making compensation to the owner? What portion of them in the whole State are native Kentuckians? Probably three-fourths were born in other lands, in the free States of the Union, or of Europe. I have conversed with many natives of the free States, both in and out of Kentucky on this subject, and I never met with one that was not deep and immovable in his feelings against Slavery. I do not condemn for the sentiment, I only state the facts; and it is possible, if I had been raised and educated where they were, I might have shared it with them. All the foreigners whose opinions on this subject I have learned, are equally hostile to Slavery and its continuance. These classes of immigrants to Kentucky locate themselves principally on the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, in the cities, or within the narrow strip of country bordering on them, indicated by my friend from Madison. (Mr. Turner.) A large proportion of the greatly increasing population of these cities and counties are those immigrants. They are the uncompromising enemies of the rights of the slave interest, and now whilst he has the power and may, will not that master protect himself, by restricting the power of those who are making incessant war upon him by restricting their representation in the Senate? The immigrants particularly crowd the cities. In New York, they and their immediate descendants are about half of the population: they are a full moiety in Cincinnati, and preponderate considerably in St. Louis.—In Louisville, Covington, and Maysville, they are rapidly and greatly increasing. These people, reared in the midst of ignorance and despotism, unacquainted with our institutions and the principles upon which they are founded, opposed to one of our great property interests, and the most of them speaking other languages, and having imbibed some wild notions of a superstitious religion, which is revolting to a large majority of our people, they ought not to share equally with the native born citizen political power. It is the poor of Europe generally who immigrate to America, and their vocation mostly is to labor. They are coming in such, and vastly increasing numbers, as every year greatly to disturb the existing proportion between the demand and the supply of labor. They become formidable competitors of the native mechanic and laborer in the United States, and when they get into Kentucky, they find negroes to be their most numerous competitors. A slaveholder who has slaves enough for his service will not employ the Germans or the Irishmen; but deprive him of his slaves and he is forced to employ them. The foreigner soon learns this, and consequently in addition to the repugnance of a strange race, and a kind of Slavery with which in his own country he had no acquaintance, he acquires the stronger motive of self-interest to prompt him to become an emancipationist—an abolitionist. He generally is such, and in my section of the State he is so known, and is claimed and relied upon by the emancipation party. This position is the natural and inevitable one for him.

Now, I am not so great a friend of the institution of Slavery as the gentleman from Simpson, and cannot vote for the amendment which he has indicated. But I am for giving to the owner of a slave an equal, and precisely the same guaranty, for that property, which he has for his land or his cattle. My position is, he ought to hold both by legal and constitu-

tional provisions. The principle that property is not to be taken by the State from its owner, without full compensation, is, I think, just as applicable to slaves as any other description of property. It does not belong to us to pass upon or deprive the owner of slaves of his property, upon any notions or convictions of justice or policy, without a full equivalent:—for he has exactly the same title to his slave that he has to any other property which belongs to him.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

NEW YORK: THURSDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1849.

Mass Convention at Syracuse.

It has been determined that a CONVENTION *of the* ABOLITIONISTS *of the* STATE *of* NEW YORK *shall be held at*

Syracuse,

on TUESDAY the 15th of JANUARY, 1850.

The present aspect of National affairs in regard to the question of Slavery; the present position of political parties in relation to those affairs; the present relation which Abolitionists, who have preserved their faith inviolate, hold to those parties; and the relation which Abolitionists now sustain to each other and the cause, demand that such a Convention be held in this State; that it be held during the ensuing session of Congress; and that it shall represent the entire strength of that portion of our people who are hostile, not only to the extension of Slavery into new Territories, but to its existence anywhere: who are determined not only to resist its establishment on the Coast of the Pacific, or in the valleys of New Mexico, but are equally determined on its extirmination on the Atlantic Coast and in the valley of the Mississippi.

The events of the past year; the events of the passing week; the events, probably, which will signalize the present winter, appeal to all who assume to themselves the name of Abolitionist to arouse themselves, at once, to the work of making this the largest and most influential ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION that has ever been held in this State. The warning cry of

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS

and their abettors was never more needed than at this moment, and has never been so heeded as it will be in the present crisis.

Particulars of time, place, and probable continuance of the Convention, and names of the distinguished friends of the cause who will be present, will be given in future notices.

THE SIXTEENTH NATIONAL A. S. BAZAAR,

FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON,

Will open on MONDAY, the 24th of DECEMBER, at ten o'clock, A. M.

It has never before been in the power of the Managers to present so large and beautiful a collection of articles. So many of our friends have visited Europe during the past year that we have enjoyed unusual facilities for procuring articles alike rare, elegant and useful. Our Transatlantic friends also have never been more generous in their donations, and it is with the utmost confidence that we ask our usual visitants to defer the purchase of their Holiday gifts till the Bazaar opens, believing that it will be impossible to find elsewhere so large and *unique* a variety.

Among the articles best worthy of attention are the following:—

Caps and *Fanchons* of the newest style from the most fashionable *Magasins* of Paris, valuable not merely in themselves, but as patterns. A small assortment of beautiful flowers and ribbons. Very splendid articles of Dresden China of the time of *Louis Quinze*, remarkable even in Paris for their beauty and unmatched in this country. Cologne bottles of old *Seorre*, very beautiful. China Ink Stands, Flower Stands, Pastille Burners, *Porte Violettes, Tete a Tete* service, and a variety of smaller articles. Porcelain figure of *Mlle. Rachel* in the character of *Phedre*, pronounced a most accurate resemblance. *Objets de Paris*, a name given to articles of inlaid work, comprising work, glove, jewel, and perfume boxes. Work Box with medallion of flowers, the painting by *Franco*, on alabaster, of the newest fashion and in the most exquisite taste.—*Presse Papiers* of an entirely new style. Articles carved in Cocoa Nut. Beautiful Rustic Vases, and other articles *en Gres. Statuettes in Biscuit.*

Scotch Shawls of unusual fineness of the Jenny Lind, Loch Laggan, Balmoral, Charlie Stewart, Tullibardine, Lorne, Princess Alice and Sutherland patterns. Highland Scarfs and Handkerchiefs, Ladies' and Childrens' Polkas of all colours, every variety of Mat, knitted, netted and crocheted. Ladies' and Gentlemens' wrought Slippers, made and unmade. Affghan Blankets or *Couvre Pieds* for invalids. Cabas and Travelling Bags. Beautiful Hearth Rug embroidered in Berlin Wool. Knitted Bed-quilt. Knitted Drawing Room Curtains. Honiton Lace Collars, Cuffs and Chemisetts of unusual beauty. Tidies and Chair Covers of all descriptions, some of the style so much admired last year, crocheted in colours. Aprons of black silk, satin and watered silk, plain, trimmed with lace and richly embroidered. Great variety of Scarfs, Cuffs, Pruolence Caps, and Handkerchiefs, knitted and netted in Berlin Wool of all colours. Urn Stands. Fea er Screens. Screens very beautifully embroidered on white Satin. Sofa and Chair Cushions elegantly wrought. Wrought Garden Chairs. Table and Chair Covers of silk Patchwork. Great variety of Childrens Dresses, some richly embroidered. Very beautiful Cloaks for Infants. Infant's Hoods, Bonnets and Hats. Irish knitted Collars and Cuffs of great fineness. Embroidered Table Borders. Carriage Mats. Purses. Music Holders. Dolls of all kinds, Wax, Wooden, and Gutter Percha, some in the exact costumes of Wales, Normandy and Germany. Wax Doll and Ward-robe, valued at £5 by the Donor.

Beautiful Basket Work from the Bristol Blind Asylum. Lined Basket embroidered in *Chenille*. Fayal Baskets. Tunbridge Work Box.

Every variety of Toilet and Pin Cushion. Needle Cases. House-wifes. Watch Cases. Carpet Balls. Babies Shoes, Boots and Gaiters. Etchings in Permanent Ink in Lines after the Right Pictures and Illustrations of Faust.

Floral perfumed, Illuminated, Rose, Cream and Damask laid, Queen's Cameo Albert, and in fine, every variety of De la Rue's Note paper with corresponding Envelopes may be found at the Book Table. Engravings of Mazzini, Wilson, and Bright.

Water Colour Drawings by Miss Carpenter, Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Richards and others, including a series of very beautiful views on the banks of the Otter.

Superior Solid Sketch Book for Artists and Amateurs. Small Vellum Card Cases. Memorandum Books. Ladies' Morocco Housewifes. Ladies' and Tourists Morocco Travelling Cases, highly gilt. Albums. Every variety of Blotting Books, some of an entirely new style. Russian Pocket Books. "Where is it?" or Address Books. Autographs—among them those of Salisbury, Minister of James 1st., Sir Robert Walpole, William Godwin, Lord North, Mrs. Hemans, Bussot, Hannah More, and other distinguished Authors and Statesmen. English editions of the Lives of Knox, Robert Hall, Cowper, R. L. Edgeworth. Fox's Book of Martyr's, Geddes Bible, very rare.

Scented Olive Oil Soap. *Pastilles Perfumes.* Scented Paris Soaps. A White China gilt Tea service. Dried Grasses and Pressed Forest Leaves. Chinese Envelope Boxes of Laquered Ware. Epergre of Canton China.

Representation of a May Day Village Club and Fair in the West of England. This has been copied from the Life, and according to the description received from competent judges is most remarkable for truth, ingenuity and delicacy of finish.

A. W. WESTON, MARY G. CHAPMAN,
LOUISA LORING, MARY MAY,
SARAH SOUTHWICK.

Good Things out of Washington.

THINGS certainly look well at Washington. Better than ever before at the initiation of our National Orgies. There seems to be more of a prospect of that particular description of "falling out" which is said to result in honest men's coming by their own again. Before this article appears, doubtless, the vexed question of the Speakership will be settled, which it is not at this present writing. But let it dispose of itself as it will, it will teach the valuable lesson that the degree of opposition or disinclination to Slavery which Northern Constituences think it decent to assume, whether they have it or not, is an impassable barrier to the attainment of posts of power or dignity which are only to be reached by the assistance of Slaveholding votes. A Northern man less exceptionable to the South than Mr. Winthrop could hardly be found. The goes for "the Union however bounded," and however inhabited, as far as Texas was concerned. And though he takes ground against the introduction of Slavery into territory now free, there is no reason to apprehend that he would make any treasonable or even fanatical uproar if the Collective Wisdom should adjudge otherwise. The South cannot seriously apprehend a stronger reactionary movement from him and his compeers towards the Repeal of such Legislation than that of Messrs. Linus Child & Co., in Massachusetts, for the Repeal of the Annexation of Texas, who have long since subsided into dreamless slumbers upon the downy cushions of Factory Agencies or Taylor Offices.

Northern men, indeed, act in public life at a great disadvantage. Whereas Southern men have but one Bancombe to conciliate, Northern ones have two. And the difficulty of paying due obeisance to the one without turning their backs, in an uncourtierlike manner, unon the other is serious, and especially, as the two Sovereign Powers stand diametrically opposite to one another. This contributes to that sideling, shambling gait so many of them contract, which, though undoubtedly favorable to getting on through a crowd of competitors, is anything but favourable to a straightforward and manly deportment. Their gait, indeed, strongly reminds one of that of the Heir Apparent to the Crown of Lilliput, when for the purpose of conciliating the High-heel and the Low-heel Factions which distracted that Empire, he wore one heel of each sort, "which," as the authentic Gulliver observes, "produced a strange hobbling in his gait;" an infirmity not unfrequently observable in those that attempt to halt between two opinions,—the Mr. Halting-bothways of politics and religion. The Southern Lords Paramount have always demanded and received the homage of substantial obedience, but they are beginning to require every aspirant after thier favour to show them the full face, and turn what Lord Castleneagh used to call a "*back front*" upon the *mesne* lords (we purposely abstain from using the English translation "*mean*," for fear of giving offence,) of whom they hold directly. We wish we could hope that this snapping at the shadow, having already the substance, might have the Esopian *denouement* of losing them both.

They are not satisfied with homage, such as was required under the feudal system of the holders of fiefs. Kneeling, with both hands between those of the Lord, and swearing to bear faith and allegiance and to do suit and service, is not enough. Mediæval genuflexion will not content them, they must have Oriental prostration. To "crook the frequent hinges of the knee" is not "fawning" enough for Thrift to follow it. The supplicant must "lay their hands on their mouths and their mouths in the dust," to deserve the boons they ask. This is beginning to cause a slight spirit of recalcitration. Even loyal Whig Metropolitan Diurnals are gettiug angry enough to intimate that it is possible for their demands to be carried to a pitch of insolence such as will induce them to begin to think of talking about resisting them. We cannot but opine that they are over-nice.—Dogs that love puddings should not be too scornful to eat them merely because they are a trifle dirty. Such conduct would be like that of Lord Amherst who lost his admission to the Emperor of China because he would not knock his forehead nine times on the floor before His Celestial Majesty, though he had no scruple about kissing the hand, on his bended knee, of a bloated profligate at St. James's in acknowledgment of his appointment to the Embassy, and was ready to do as much for the descendant of the Sun and Moon. Men who have not wiped their mouths since they kissed Taylor's hand, last Autumn, need not expect much sympathy when they are to perform the *kotou* before the Power whose Prime Minister, only, he is.

The cecession of the Toombs party was ominous as the name of its leader, to the Whigs. It is but the antepast of what they have to expect. Every slaveholder is more of a Slaveholder than he is of a Whig or a Democrat. As the factions of the country are now divided Slavery must swamp either of them that will not suffer her to trim its sails and direct its course. The Whigs will soon find this to their cost, both in the matter of their favourite party measures and of the confirmation of their party nominations. We have faith to believe that the chief part of the Northern Whigs in Congress and of their leading backers at home would have small squeamishness about eating any leek that the Southern Fluellens may offer to them, as far as any unsavouriness of the vegetable itself is concerned. But then they are affrighted at the memory of the murdered Anti-Slavery professions they have left bleeding behind them at the North, and fearful lest they may come

"With twenty mortal murders on their heads
To push them from their stools!"

It is the fear of something after the death of the session that gives them pause and makes them tremble with a fearful looking for of judgment in a future state of untried elections. Their situation is simply this: If they move a step one way they encounter the roar of the South, if they stir an inch the other they hear, at least in imagination, the growl of the North, and if they stand still they are in danger of being pounced upon by both. Their predicament was typified by that of Baron Munhausen between the tiger and the crocodile, without a chance, however, of the luck of that veracious traveller, of seeing the one spring over his head into the extended jaws of the other.

It is to be hoped that Slavery will do its perfect work this winter, and let the North understand that no Northern man can be elected to official station in either house, or be confirmed to any office by the Senate, without humiliations which will make him ashamed to show his face to his constituents at home. Things are fast approaching this crisis, and we think it will be reached this winter. This state of things, and this only, will begin to bring the North into line against the South.—Thanks to the indefatigable importunities of the Abolitionists, a state of public feeling has been created at the North which compels at least the decent homage of hypocrisy from men who seek an avenue to official influence through popular votes. Their lips, at least, must utter the Shibboleth of Freedom, though their acts may show that their hearts are far from her. Though they may lift into the throne, with hosannas, a man whose only qualifications are, notoriously, the killing of Mexicans and the owning of Slaves, still they must, from the lips outward, be enemies of the Mexican War, and friends of the Wilmot Proviso. It is but a Tub to amuse the stupid Whale behind them, to be sure; but then it is one that provokes to madness the fierce and hungry Shark before them, which threatens, quite as much, disaster to their voyaging. The Slaveholders are uncompromising and have but one face to show, and this gives them their strength, and that kind of bastard respect which a resolute and skilful maintenance, even of evil, is sure to extort. The Northern men must learn that they can expect the power they desire only by learning the tactics of their enemies. They have long been content with the crumbs that fall from their master's table; but if these, too, be denied, they will be sorry dogs indeed if they do not give mouth and show their teeth.

The present posture of affairs is encouraging because it is prophetic of future rebellion in the ranks of the allies of Slavery. Cobbett has said, as we quoted two or three weeks ago, that you cannot make a man with a full belly a rebel. But if our Northern Israel can be made to see that the flesh-pots of the Egypt they are hungering after are forever cut off, and that they are to be condemned to an eternal wandering in the wilderness they hate so much, and they do not rebel, even an empty belly can no longer be reckoned on as one of the elements of rebellion. If anything can lay the foundation of a Northern Party, that will be as superior to the cant of the Constitution as the Southern Party has ever been, it will be such a cutting off of the supplies of power and profit, as we now hope to see. The sooner it comes the better. It must be the first step towards such an upright and self-respecting posture on the part of the North as will compel respect from its Enemy,—and with respect an influence such as it has never yet exerted or even attempted to acquire.—E. Q.

Syracuse Convention.

We are happy to lay before our readers the following letter from Mrs. A. K. Foster:

NEW MILFORD, Connecticut, Dec. 14, 1849.

DEAR FRIEND:—I am most happy to see the interest manifested by others in the anticipated Anti-Slavery Mass Convention for the State of New York; and as I have been devoting the Summer and Fall to lecturing in the State it is to me also an object of peculiar interest.

This Convention will, I trust, bring together large numbers of the earliest, wisest, most experienced and faithful of our little band.

The exigencies of the cause never more loudly demanded a strong gathering of earnest spirits in New York than at this juncture. I need not enumerate the many reasons for such a gathering: the slave's friends are not blind that they cannot see them.

Those who meet there will come, each with his own great idea to throw into the common stock, for the purification and regeneration of this corrupt country. Allow me a suggestion touching a matter of the greatest moment, but which is too often entirely overlooked at such gatherings. I refer to the severe labor necessary to be performed before Slavery can be abolished. I fear most Abolitionists have not given this subject due deliberation. Instead of sitting down and counting the cost before we entered upon this warfare we rushed headlong into it, thinking Slavery would fall in a day. But the days of miracles are past, and whatever of good we accomplish for ourselves or for others, in these latter times, comes of close calculation and unremitting industry. Had the Abolitionists who composed the American Anti-Slavery Society at the outset, duly considered the character and strength of the enemy they were marshalled to assail, many of them would never have enlisted to suffer the mortification of being compelled, for lack of moral courage and Christian principle, to desert our ranks and join our enemies. Others, whom these deserters drew off with them, would never have been deluded into the folly of attempting to drive from the country through the narrow aperture of the ballot-box a system of oppression which had entered it through the broad aisle of the church and still held undisputed sway in the pulpit.

But what is the work which must be done or Slavery be left to curse our children as our fathers left it to curse us? If we can see how Slavery exists we can easily see how it can be destroyed. Does it derive its life from compacts and statutes on parchment and paper? These are but the *signs* of things. Is it because of the character of legislative, executive and judicial offices? These too we know to be only the supple-tools of an overruling power.

Where then resides the living spirit of Slavery that gives up three millions of our countrymen for a prey? Is it not in the hearts of the American people who have, from their infancy, drunk in at every breath, contempt and hatred of the slave and admiration and affection for the slaveholder? Has not the term *negro* always been but another name for meanness and brutality? And has not *slaveholder* been but another name for bravery, magnanimity and wisdom? Can we expect the people of the North will ever put away Slavery till they shall change their estimate of its character? And how shall they be brought to hate and loathe it? Only by having it kept constantly before them painted in its true colors. But who shall do this? We know the church never will. She is "given over to a reprobate mind and left to believe a lie, and her damnation is sealed." From the nature of political parties they never can do it. Their mission is to take the world as it is, and not to make it what it should be.

It is left then to the Abolitionists to do this gigantic work. It is theirs not only to make the people see but to make them feel that, Slavery being the greatest of sins the slaveholder must necessarily be the foulest and blackest of sinners. And in order to accomplish this, teachers of moral science must be sent into every city, town, village and school district in the North.

The contemplated Convention therefore should take into consideration this important work. Are the Abolitionists of New York aware that hundreds of towns within their borders are yet to hear for the first time the voice of an Anti-Slavecy advocate? In the eastern section of the State scores of lectures have been given the present year in towns never before visited by any one to plead the cause of real freedom; but not a tithe of this moral wilderness has yet been explored. More laborers must be brought into the field, and more efficient measures taken to pour light upon the understandings of the common people.

May the Convention assemble with a determined purpose to raise the men and the money to prosecute vigorously this war upon the slaveholding spirit of New York. No matter what else shall be done, if this shall be left undone, the Convention will have wasted the greater part of its strength. Yours for the work,

ABBY KELLEY FOSTER.

DISTINGUISHED STRANGERS.—The well known enthusiasm of the people of this city has been stretched to its utmost tension by the arrival among us, during the last week, of several distinguished strangers, who have suffered and dared much in the sacred cause of Freedom. The Steamer Hermann arrived on Saturday, and among several other Hungarian refugees who had escaped on board of her to this country, were the distinguished General Ujhazy, and Miss Apolonia Jagello; and on the same day one of the usual trains of cars had among its passengers the celebrated Mr. Box Brown. General Ujhazy (pronounced Wehazy) was Governor of the city of Comorn, the particulars of the siege of which are doubtless familiar to every American who hates tyranny and cruelty; and his companion, Miss Jagello, was a Lieutenant of Hussars during the same eventful period, and at the same place, and fulfilled with great energy and fearlessness the duties appropriate to that sphere; though we observe that she bashfully and gracefully declined to state the precise number of men she had killed, a point on which the New Yorkers were exceedingly curious, as interesting in itself, and an important argument in the popular cause of Woman's Rights. That she is a 'man-killer' however, the reporters of the public press, as a friend observes, seem quite pursuaded. Mr. Box Brown we hardly need state, is also a fugitive from the tyranny of the government of his native country—somewhat nearer than Hungary—and has suffered well nigh to martyrdom to secure to himself that inalienable birth-right which our proud country makes the first principle of all her Institutions. General Ujhazy, with a number of his exiled Compatriots, met with an appropriate reception at the Astor House, while the gallant Lieutenant, Miss Apolonia Jagello, was welcomed in a most becoming manner at the Irving. We have not learned what place was assigned for the residence of Mr. Box Brown during his sojourn among us, but it is, we believe somewhere in the fashionable quarter in and about Church street. A Committee of gentlemen, composed of our most estimable and distinguished men, such as ex-Mayor Havemeyer, Moses Grinnell, and S. Draper, and others of similar social and political standing, was appointed to make arrangements for a public reception of the fugitives, and to give them so substantial a welcome that they need be harrassed with no fear of immediate want, for the Hungarian General and his friends had probably but little opportunity to burthen themselves with many of the goods of this world in their flight; and such, at least, we know was the case with Mr. Brown, who cannot fail, therefore, we trust, to appeal to the sympathies of this distinguished Committee; indeed perhaps we are starting an injurious suspicion in suggesting the possibility of his case being one which would not first command its attention and aid.

Various interesting incidents in connection with the reception of the strangers have occurred, and among them the appearance on a dinner-table at the Irving House, of a representation of the fort of Comoro, with the flag of Hungary waving from its top, and the gallant Lieutenant Apolonia standing at its foot, clothed in the Cap of Liberty—and, we presume, some other apparel, though no other is mentioned in the description of this touching scene—and proudly trampling the flag of Austria under her feet; around her lay scattered the elements of her profession, guns, swords, cannon balls &c. This whole brilliant affair, the design of the landlord of the Irving, measured several inches in height and width, and was made of the nicest sort of sugar-candy. The Lieutenant was so overcome at the sight, and so moved at so delicate and sweet complement to herself as to burst into tears. Such sensibility made all the more interesting the subsequent exhibition of the hussar jacket of the young officer.

The reception of General Ujhazy was made of the deepest interest from the fact that he is attended by all his family, some of whom are quite young children. Mr. Brown also, we understand, has with him the box, in which he travelled concealed, for a night and a day, through a professedly Christian Country; and in this box hangs suspended, at this moment, the gimblet and the bladder by means of which he alone was enabled to sustain life till he reached a place of comparative safety. We have not heard, indeed, that the box, like Lieutenant Apolonia's jacket has been shrown in the parlor of the Irving House, or that its owner has been presented with himself in sugar-candy trampling on the national flag of his oppressors, but of course it is not to be questioned that our enthusiastic fellow citizens have received each of the refugees in a manner the most appropriate to show exactly the appreciation in this city of the truest heroism. Our own account of the various receptions is necessarily meagre, as we had no part in any of them, and in Mr. Box Brown's case especially have been enabled to find nothing, beyond the bare announcement of his arrival, in the public prints. But surely we may safely leave him as well as the others in the hands of the patriotic gentlemen who represent in Committee the public sentiment of New York?

GEORGE THOMPSON.—"I never see the *Standard*," says George Thompson, in a letter to the last *Liberator*.—"Should this meet the eye of friend Gay, he may take a hint." We have edited the *Standard* now for nearly six years, and we assure George Thompson his name has stood on our mail books, and the paper been sent to him weekly for all that time. That he should not get it is unaccountable. If we should regret for no other reason than he has been so long without the reading of it, it would be that he will never know now how many good things in all that time we have said about him. We will try to findsome certain method of conveying it to him in future.

We observe in the same letter to the *Liberator* the following passage which our friends in Philadelphia will be glad to read:

I have been with you to Eastern Pennsylvania. You appear to have had a good time at Norristown. I have not overlooked the fifteenth resolution passed by the meeting held there. My eyes grew dim when I read the invitation. Give me the opportunity of telling those who passed that resolution, that they have my heart's best gratitude for it, and that I WILL ACCEPT IT.

DEATH OF DAVID RUGGLES.—We learn with regret, by a letter from from Northampton, that David Ruggles died at that place on Sunday last, but of what disease we are not informed. Mr. Ruggles has been, for several years past, connected with a Water-Cure Establishment at Northampton, and has gained a very general esteem for his skill and success, notwithstanding he has had to encounter an almost insurmountable obstacle in the prejudice against the colour of his skin. Previous to his going to Northampton he was a resident of this city, and his memory will be cherished to the latest day of their lives by many fugitive slaves who were indebted to him for safety and succour from the pursuit of the slave-hunters.

☞An English correspondent of a friend—writing from Bristol—says in a recent letter

"It is amazing to me how people are wheedled out of their abolition convictions, or *tendencies*, by intercourse with your Bostonian circles. Poor ——, What a fall was this. * * * How much your people of America could have aided us, in Europe, by your moral force—while the struggle was going on between the heroic Hungarian people, and the savage combination under which they were at last compelled to yield! But, when any sign is wanting in behalf of the great and good and free—with what effect could it come from a source, against which so tremendous a *Tu quoque* could be retorted, as against the nation holding 3,000,000 of men in bitterest chains of bondage!

"We are shortly expecting the illustrious Kossuth in England, and it will be all the better worth living in, when we have such a spirit among us."

CONGRESS.—For the details of the curious scenes which have been enacted at Washington, during the past week, we refer to the Congressional report in another column. We have no disposition to join in the general outcry against Brown, which is aroused, evidently, not so much at the meanness of the act, as at the clumsiness of the actor. The game he played is nothing new. The very thing which he did has been done a thousand and one times by others. The difference between him and them is that he was not cunning enough to keep his plans to himself till he had secured the benefit which he was bargaining for.

CORRECTION.—Our esteemed correspondent 'Alpha' asks us to make the following corrections in his article of last week. We regret the necessity, which only exists because we had not time to correct the proof sheets with our own hand. He says:

I notice several errors in the printing of Alpha No. 5. The following corrections are important, especially the middle one where the error makes the expression the exact opposite of the writer's intention. The supplied or corrected words are italicised—

In paragraph 13, line 7, we should read—You may supply the slaveholder *with money*, without giving.

In paragraph 16, line 3, we should read—We, however, see no *flaw* in the doctrine.

In paragraph 17, line 4, we should read *abeyance* instead of obeyance.

'Alpha' adds an item of intelligence which will interest our Pennsylvania readers:

The friends of "whatsoever things are pure," will be glad to learn that the upper Darby table at the approaching Philadelphia Fair, will be indebted to no toil of the slave for its value or brilliancy.

To Correspondents.

B. T. He will observe by referring to his bill that it is for the present, and not the last year. The money he refers to was duly received, and pays for his paper up to the commencement of the present volume.

O. J. Shall hear from us by mail. The inclosure he spoke of he forgot to put in on closing his letter.

H. B. B. The No. of the paper he sends for containing a former article of his is not to be had, otherwise we would have sent it to him. We are not sure, however, that we should have copied it, as it has probably been seen already by many of our readers. A glance at the title of the last article received from him strikes us as more likely to provoke a reply from us than that in this week's paper.

Domestic Correspondence.

From a Washington Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, D. C. Dec., 14th, 1849.

THE daily press (in the absence of a correspondent of your own here) has kept you somewhat advised of the state of things in the House of Representatives of the "greatest nation on the face of the earth"—and, truly, a rare state of things it is. To call it a condition of "disorganization" would be to use a word which falls far short of the truth—it is *anarchy*. Here we have been for nine full days without the election of a presiding officer—nay, farther from it than when the Clerk of the last Congress called the present one to order, unless the scene we had yesterday, in which "liar!" passed between two members of the House, and a general rush, *vi et armis*, calling for the interposition of the "mace" of the seargent-at-arms, which, I am sorry to say, appears to have less effect towards quelling the mob, than the suggestion of some members that *this* was not the place to settle personal difficulties should ensure such a change. Whether any other place is to be chosen, I have not been able to learn.

By the by, there was one creditable feature in the scene referred to. It was this: After some talk about the "dissolution of this glorious Union," Mr. Duer, of your own State, charged that there were Disunionists in the House. He was asked to point them out. He pointed to Mr. Meade, of Va. whereupon he said it was "false." "*you're a liar!*" exclaimed Mr. Duer, in the utmost coolness, and then stood calmly observing the scene of tumult which followed just as a huntsman would watch the result of his shot at a deer; and, the moment the storm subsided, he turned coolly and calmly to the Clerk and apologized to the House, and then proceeded to the continuation of his speech, as if nothing had happened! It was certainly one of the most remarkable examples of courage (*animal* courage, you may call it,) ever exhibited in this or any other body. It showed plainly that there is a *Yankee* mode for repelling an insult, as well as giving an answer, or driving a bargain! It was, as you will guess, strikingly in contrast with the fluttering bravado of his antagonist.

Of course, I regretted to see such a movement of the waters of violence, but I certainly do not regret that the first exhibition of "spunk" was made by a Northern man—especially since he made it so well and effectually. It will teach the "Chivalry" a lesson which may be of use to them, and through them to the country. There has been enough of *dough*, and to spare—there was, indeed, danger of the Northern cake being left "*all dough.*"

It was, further, remarkable to observe how unqualifiedly many of the Southern members talked yesterday, about "dissolving the Union,' in the event of the Wilmot Proviso passing, or Slavery in this District being abolished. But it was still more remarkable to notice how little sensation the Disunionist's speeches made—designed, as they were, to frighten Northern men, especially the new members, from their propriety and their sense of duty to their constituents. Mr. Root, of Ohio, glorious wag that he is, cooly remarked that, if his Southern friends seriously designed to put their threats into action, he hoped they would do so before the speaker was elected. Then, having been irregularly done, there would be some chance to take our appeal to the people, in the form of a "writ of error,"—that it would be a dreadful catastrophy to do so afterwards! I know not how better to give the readers of *The Standard* an idea of the change which has come over the temper of the House, since even the last session, (and how marvellously different from the temper of former years) than by stating my belief that William Lloyd Garrison himself could get a fair hearing, for the sake of his vote!

Say what you may about the actions of the Free-Soilers, generally, depend upon it their Representatives proper are doing a good work in the present Congress—a far more important work than the election of any man, whatever, for speaker, although their utility may not be apparent to superficial observers. As Mr. Giddings remarked to me, the other day, when his vote for William J. Brown, of Indiana, caused such a flutter among the Southrons, (falling, as it did, like a bombshell) they were "scaring them from the bushes most effectually."

Do not be surprised to find the Northerners taking their position, with at least semi-manhood, and thus breaking the bands of party, to a great extent,—and that during the present Congress. That is a consumation devoutly to be wished, because it will bring fully before the minds and consciences of the people the question of "*Perpetuation or Disunion.*" I need not hint that it will not take me long to decide between these, when the hour for choice comes. There may be other Unions—but the sentiment of Freedom is one and indivisible, and no mere form of government can compensate for such an utter disregard of its claims upon honest hearts! Yet I do not wholly despair of the Republic, *because*, as you will probably say, I am still

A FREE SOILER.

P. S. Although many of them will have learned the fact from the Daily Press, I may as well tell your readers, that the House has just adjourned at ¼2 past 4 o'clock, after three ballottings, to-day, and with less apparent prospect of a choice of speaker, than when the first ballot was read, nine days ago!

BOSTON, Nov. 25, 1849.

MR. GAY:—I understand there is to be an attempt at the next session of Congress to compromise with the slaveholders with regard to California, and the boundary line of Texas. Without going into the minutiæ of this matter, even if I fully understand it, I would call the attention of your readers to the fact, and to the importance of endeavoring to bring about the result fought for in the enforcement of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and the action of Assault and Battery in the Southern States as *the* means to prevent, not only any further encroachments of the South, but to rid our Union of the curse of Slavery. Until we entirely eradicate it from our soil, we shall never cease to hear of its cruelties and its usurpation. It is a stench in the nostrils of civilization; and if a northern man is found to give it the least quarter it cannot but be hoped he will meet with such a universal execration, as Mr. Webster said that the Czar of Russia would receive if he should attempt to force the Sultan of Turkey to give up Kossuth. Let them fully understand the Abolitionists will be down upon them with all the power they can master. I cannot but hope and trust that the great body of both the Whig and Democratic parties are in heart and principle for the freedom of man, and will, without hesitancy, unite their forces with what was once the Liberty party, and carry out the principles involved in the enforcement of these two portions of the constitution of our country. Till these principles are enforced, no peace or harmony can exist among us: confusion more confounded must be the order of the day. No settled policy can be pursued; jealousy will ever be lurking in the slaveholder's breast. As fast as one system is adopted it must give way for another. Such has been the course of events, and such must they continue to be, while Slavery comes in contact with Liberty.

The Buffalo Platform will not meet the exigency; an *American* will fall through its "rotten planks," purposely put there, I am afraid, to shield the doings of the Judges of the Supreme Court in fining so many of our citizens for professing the charitable object of feeding and assisting a distressed and weary fugitive, while they ostensibly catered to a Democratic feeling that once existed respecting the independence of the United States, and which has been constantly fanned into a flame by our slaveholders, according to my belief, for this very purpose of preventing the country carrying out the great idea contained in the principles involved in the enforcement of the writ of Habeas Corpus, and the action of Assault and Battery; and which Mr. John Van Buren, if I could judge from hearing his speech in Faneuil Hall a short time since, or from his consent to construct such a platform as that at Buffalo, denying as it does our American citizenship. Because if a State can do as it pleases with its inhabitants, where is the universality of our character in the term *Americans?* I would put the question to him, it is trusted he will publicly answer it: Does he and the Democratic party mean to give up their title to American citizenship, as they must do if they consent that a State may do what she pleases with her inhabitants. On what is based their allegiance, is it for the protection the government gives them when they go out of the country, or is it not rather the daily additional protection which she guarantees to them, besides that which their own States can afford, or does our Constitution make any distinction between him and the poorest person in the land, so as to make him a freeman and the latter not? It is time he and all of us should understand this matter, that we may no longer be humbugged by this eternal cry of State rights, and the idea we are bound to acknowledge property in man at the diction of a State.

When I saw a certain person's name in the Committee for the constitution of the Buffalo Platform I thought there would be something rotten about it. The protection from censure of the decisions of the United States Court, was too great an object to let pass without an attempt to prevent it, and it was effectually accomplished. When the party come together again, it is hoped those "rotten planks" will be removed, and good solid oak ones will be put in their places. When they do that, they will gain the confidence of the American people, not till then. Then there will be a platform worth standing upon, and there will be an audience worth speaking to, and a purpose worth attaining. We shall then strike at the root of the evil, and not be hacking at the branches. Nor shall we be damning up a stream, which must sooner or later overflow the country, or else breaking away the obstruction, involve all in one common ruin.

Without proceeding any further in this str in I want to put another question to E. Q. which, if possible, I should like to have answered. It is this:

—When the Convention was discussing the propriety of continuing the foreign slave trade, it was objected to on the ground of the impropriety of calling a man property. Mr. Madison said it "would be wrong to admit into the constitution the idea that there could be property in man;" Mr. Sherman and others also objected to it, and the clause which was introduced by South Carolina and Georgia, that would have sanctioned the classification of man with merchandize, was so amended as to exclude such an idea. Governeur Morris, who was one of the most decided Abolitionists, if we may judge him from his expressions, was chairman of the committee on style and arrangement, [a significant fact,] after the Convention had made this decision, he placed the clause securing the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus to all next in order, so that the person reading the one might read the other, thereby, as every one must perceive, giving liberty to every man the moment he put his foot upon our shores, and as must be supposed he arranged the language of the whole constitution, as he was bound to do in conformity to this idea there could be no "*property in man.*" This being so, the question now is, how could they have agreed to return the runaway *slave*, when they had previously determined there could be no property in man? Yours truly,

G. W. F. MELLEN.

SOUTHERN VIOLENCE AND BRUTALITY.
BY AN EYE WITNESS.

MR. EDITOR:—The Nos. of the *Standard*, containing three letters from me, came to hand yesterday. On looking over your remarks, I cannot perceive that you give me a fair, plausible, or a reasonable answer to prove *your* position—that human Slavery, as it exists in the United States, is *the sin* of sins; abhorrent to God as to Abolitionists. I have sought to bring out *your* strong men to prove this; and no man having appeared, that I know of, I take it for granted it cannot be done; and here leave the matter, for the present, to speak of other matters being part and parcel of Slavery. I love to give *both sides* of the matter; for their is nothing so abhorrent to my mind as the fear some people manifest when they hear the truth; and I cannot believe any good is gained by suppressing the truth, in the South or here at the North.

I wish now to give your readers a few cases of Southern violence and brutality, as I have witnessed it, and *experienced* the "coat of tar and feathers," for teaching the slaves to say their prayers.

I suppose you Abolitionists all know,—if you do not, I wish now to relate the fact,—that a few years ago, in 1837-'38, Henry W. Bellows, now the highly esteemed and devout pastor of the Unitarian Church in New York city, called "the Church of the Messiah," was the pastor of a "little flock" of stray *Yankees* at Mobile, who built for him a very neat, chaste and convenient church, which is yet standing, and known in Mobile as Mr. Bellow's Unitarian Church. But he did not like Mobile, the why I never knew, and after laboring there for two seasons with universal satisfaction, and gaining the hearts of all good men, he could not be persuaded to remain any longer. His congregation were most of them *Slaveholders*. But Mr. Bellows, now the editor of the *Christian Inquirer*, the *Unitarian* paper in New York, can bear witness that a better class of men, taken as a whole, never sat before him, than these very slaveholders. If I err in this print, he will surely correct me. I ask of him to do so.

After he left Mobile, Rev. George F. Simmons, of Boston, now pastor of the Unitarian Church at Springfield, Massachusetts, came out and labored for two seasons with general satisfaction. But he was then a mere student—a sentimentalist—a man of fine feelings and great kindness: he did very well for a time.—Among other *abstractions* he was led into by his constitutional "absent mindedness," was that of *abolitionism*. He gave notice "to all whom it might concern" that, on such and such a Sabbath he intended to speak to *his hearers*, in HIS OWN church, on what *he* considered THEIR DUTY to the slaves. I heard him deliver his first sermon, it was a *cutter*. But the truth! I trembled in my seat, for I feared some weak, head-long zealot of another church might rise up and collar him.—But not so. He was listened to attentively, calmly,—no one left the house, and no man seemed *angry*. On looking about I concluded I was myself *the most scared* of anybody in the crowd. And so the matter passed off; some laughed, some said it was all well enough But they did not want "another dose" just then; better wait a little time; but no. On the next Sunday, down he came on the slaveholders, "giving 'em Jesse," in the real rough and tumble, shovel tongs and poker sort of fashion. This was uncalled for, unnecessary, and unfortunate for Mr. S. and his Society: for he "took leg bail" for security, that week, and has never been seen in those parts since. But the real truth is, no man in Mobile would have harmed a hair of his head. He took counsel of "his own fears," and being ready to leave for Boston, as he had only two weeks longer to remain, when his second year would expire, he was *advised* by some friends of his Society—*slaveholders*—he had better leave, as some rash persons under the excitement might abuse him or offer him personal violence. But I could never learn there was any such abuse or violence offered him. I am particular to state these facts, because I was there,—a member of his Society and church—and had a Sabbath-school of slave children, and collected the slave parents together every Sunday afternoon for *oral* instruction; and I am frank to confess *I* had good cause to fear some jealous sectarians would pounce on me and upset all my good hopes and fondly cherished

doubt the editors of *The Register & Advertiser* at Mobile, remembers that day and other similar scenes.

—At the *slave church* a funeral sermon was delivered by *Uncle Dick*, a slave, the next Sunday; and I suppose there were from 1,200 to 1,500 slaves present, and no man ever forbade them, molested them, or wished to disturb them. I was there, and feel glad to be able to bring out these *redeeming* features; and sir, if you will publish them, some good, and *no evil* will be done.

—H. B. B.

Congressional.

XXXI CONGRESS---I. SESSION.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, December 13, 1849.

ON motion of Mr. KAUFMAN, the House proceeded to the election of a Speaker, and with the following result, namely:

W. J. Brown	112	H. Mann	5
Duer	2	Vinton	2
Morehead	17	Conrad	1
Stanly	18	Chandler	2
McGaughey	13	Bowdon	1
Winthrop	17	Julian	3
T. Stevens	2	Holmes	1
Rockwell	1	D. P. King	1
Outlaw	1	Boyd	3

One hundred and fourteen being necessary to a choice, Mr. Brown required but two votes for an election.

Mr. STANLY offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the members of the Democratic party be requested to appoint three members, to confer with three members to be appointed by the Whig party, relative to the choice of a Speaker.

A motion was made to lay the resolution on the table.

Mr. STANLY asked the House not to be in such a hurry. He had the floor, and intended to detain them but a few moments. He said that the resolution was suggested, not by a Whig, but by a patriotic Democratic member. He then advocated the passage of the proposition as calculated to bring about an era of good feeling. He expressed some views in regard to the present position of parties, touching the question of Free Soilism and Abolitionism, and the opinion that the Union was not in danger of dissolution from any present movement.

Mr. BAYLY (amid the confusion) said there were some remarks which had fallen from the gentleman which he thought due to the Democratic side of the House should be answered. The gentleman commenced by first stating the condition of things existing in the House, (which is but a type of the condition of things existing in the country.)

Mr. STANLY said the gentleman was mistaken.

Mr. BAYLY replied that the last clause of what he had uttered was not intended as a quotation from the gentleman, but was his own sentiment. The gentleman said that as long as Rough and Ready was in the Presidential chair the Union would be in no danger. If there be anything in this state of affairs in the country menacing the Union, it has grown out of the question which has disturbed the deliberations of this body, and made it almost impossible to organize it. The gentleman from North Carolina was pleased to say, when he alluded to the Democratic side that he blushed for it, and that he had heard of something rotten in Denmark; thus seeming to insinuate what has been so industriously circulated through the hall this morning that there has been a combination between the Democratic party and Free Soilers.

Mr. ASHMUN—I rise merely to say to the gentleman, that there is a rumor that there are written engagements or assurances between them.

[Several gentlemen on the Democratic side cried out, "It is false—it is false!" and there was a degree of excitement.]

Mr. BAYLY—I beg leave to inform the gentleman that there is for this no foundation in truth.

Mr. ASHMUN—I know nothing of it further than rumor.

Mr. BAYLY—The implication has been made, and shall not pass unnoticed. There has been no understanding or arrangement. He did not believe that there were five men who were capable of entering into such an arrangement. If the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Giddings) chooses to vote without consulting us or our policy, I do not see how we are to prevent it. Gentlemen complain that the House is not organized. It never can be organized, unless gentlemen vote for one candidate or the other.

Mr. ASHMUN—I wish to ask whether there has not been a correspondence between your candidate and these gentlemen? (the Free Soilers.)

Mr. BAYLY—If there has been, I am not aware of it.

Mr. ASHMUN—Ah! [Laughter; and a voice: "Does the gentleman make the assertion?" and another: "I am certain there has been no correspondence."]

Mr. BAYLY—I desire to ask, is there authority for making the charge?

Mr. ASHMUN—Nothing more than common rumor.

Mr. BAYLY—I have pretty much accomplished the object for which I arose. The Free Soilers are carrying out their own views, without consulting with us, and without any arrangement. And I flatter myself that if their votes could have been procured for the candidate presented on the other side, they would not have looked on the proceedings with disgust, and said that there was something rotten in Denmark.

Mr. ROOT condemned the proposition of the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. BAYLY—(Mr. ROOT yielding the floor,) in speaking, a few moments ago, I stated that no correspondence had taken place between the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Brown) and the Free Soilers, but I find that I am mistaken. [Laughter.] The correspondence is not, however, of the character intimated. Mr. Brown's reply to a letter, he tells me, was, that he declines to commit himself to these gentlemen. He said that he would place them on Committees where they were entitled to be.

Mr. ROOT resumed. He said that for the two parties to enter into the arrangement contemplated by the resolution, was as great an outrage upon him, because it deprived him of his rights, as if forty, or eighty, or a hundred and twelve numbers were cut off. The majority had no right to do this. If they wished to preserve their character, and the character of honorable and high-minded Representatives, they must so exercise their rights as not to deprive any member of his. He did not belong to Denmark, and not often to the Pickwickian Denmark. [Laughter.] He did not know what inducement could be held out to induce gentlemen to vote.

Mr. BURT rose to address the House, but—

Mr. BROWN, of Indiana, having obtained the floor at the same time.

[There were cries of "down in front," "order," "order," and]

The CLERK endeavored to restore quiet.

Mr. BROWN said that he came to the city of Washington, never dreaming of being a candidate for Speaker. His health was bad. There were older and abler members of his political party—gentlemen who were well versed in parliamentary law. He had no experience. He had never made the subject his study. He came to the Loco-foco caucus, and aided in the nomination of Cobb, for whom he voted repeatedly for several long days. When it was suggested to him that, in all probability, (occupying a neutral ground, and coming from a free State,) he could concentrate as great a vote as any other individual, he received the suggestion with perfect astonishment. He had had no such thought or desire, and was not vain enough to suppose that, if his political party had a decided and marked majority, he would have been their candidate for the Speakership. But it was suggested that, during this exciting question of Slavery, he was a member of Congress, and consequently had not voted on any of these questions. He was a member when the Texas question was under consideration, and he had spoken and voted. There were his votes on the record. His friends from the North and from the South understood the position which he occupied. He had repeatedly said (for he was not in a position to cast a vote) that he had no doubt that the great body of the North were opposed to the extension of Slavery; that he had deemed the introduction of the proposition, at any time, as unnecessary and unfortunate. We were then engaged in a constitutional and foreign war; and it was due to the North and South that the question should not be agitated. Now, it was found that a small number held the balance of power, and without their vote it was impossible to elect a presiding officer. In this state of the case, he first received a letter from the gentleman from Alabama, (Mr. Hubbard,) who propounded a certain question. He (Mr. Brown) took him to the record, and pointed to the speeches delivered on several occasions, and to the votes. He was not then, nor did he desire to be, considered a candidate for Speaker. After he had received 53 votes of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. Wilmot,] with whom he had long been acquainted, and the gentleman from New York, [Mr. P. King,] with whom he had served in Congress, and with whom he had generally voted, being on the Democratic side of the House, desired to have a conference with him. When he had the conferance, he found that the objection which they had to voting for him was, that he was selected as the favorite of the South. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Venable] said that he would not vote for a Wilmot proviso man for the Speakership, and yet he voted for him, (Mr. Brown.) The gentleman above named had no personal objection to him. They desired not to ask him what his vote might be, but that he would organize the Committee for the District of Columbia, on the Judiciary, and on Territories, in such a manner as would give to all a fair expression of opinion. He told them that he would not make pledges as to who he would place upon them. The gentleman said that they did not desire to be placed upon either of the committees; all they desired was that the committees should be so constituted that all sections should be represented—the North and the South, the Wilmot proviso men, and the anti-Wilmot proviso men. He informed them that he would so constitute the Committees as to satisfy them; they asked nothing more than what was a fair and equal representation. On the subject of the abolition of Slavery, he——

Mr. BURT said that he had yielded the floor to see the correspondence. He wished to see it now.

Mr. BROWN—I have it.

Mr. BURT—Read it.

Mr BROWN remarked that he represented a district where there were but few Free-Soilers. Their votes he did not get. His competitor took the ground that General Taylor was in favor of the Wilmot Proviso. All that he [Mr. Brown] said upon the subject was, that he was always opposed to, and did not expect to vote for it in Congress; and on the subject of Slavery in the District of Columbia he did not desire to interfere, because it belonged to the people interested. He would now read the correspondence.

[Gentlemen crowded in the direction of his seat—and there was much anxiety manifested to hear the papers read.]

Mr. BROWN—I desire to read the correspondence.—[Several voices: "Let the Clerk read it."

Mr. WOODWARD—I presume the gentleman will indicate what portion he is willing shall be read.

Mr. BROWN—All of it. ["Let's hear."] I will state what it is. The letter merely asks me in what manner I would constitute the Committees, [it was after the conversation that the letter was written,] and I stated that I would do so in a manner which should be satisfactory. This was signed by Mr. Wilmot alone, and not by the other gentlemen. I stated to them what I had said to those representing Southern gentlemen, that if a bill were introduced to extend Slavery, representing the district I did, I could not vote for it. The Southern men remarked that they did not expect me to do it. I will now read.

"DEAR SIR: In answer to yours of this date I have to state that I will, should I be elected Speaker, I will"——

Mr. MCLANE—I hope that the House will exhibit magnanimity by giving attention.

The CLERK requested the gentlemen to take their seats.

Mr. DUER said that, owing to the ill health of the gentlemen from Indiana it was impossible to hear him; and Mr. Brown was called on from all directions to take a place in front of the Clerk's desk.

Mr. BROWN—I can be heard here, at my seat. I will be glad if the gentleman from Pennsylvania will state the substance of the letter he wrote to me. It is a brief one.

Mr. WILMOT—Having a conversation with the gentleman from Indiana, I told him that I believed that the voice of the country had been stifled in the Committees of the House. All we asked was fairness, and an opportunity to give expression to the public will of the Free States; we wanted and asked nothing more, and that we did want; and he said that if he should be elected Speaker, he would constitute the Committees in such a manner as to enable us to be heard. Further, we did not stipulate as to the members to be appointed. Nothing of the kind. We desired to be placed on the Committees the ablest men of the House, and the best men; so that the voice of the South might have full scope, and that Northern men should be heard, and that the Committees should not be packed. I addressed him a note, asking him if, in organizing the Committees, he would afford a full and free expression to the sentiments of the country. That was, substantially, the only interrogatory I propounded. He was satisfied that the sentiments of two-thirds of the people of the country should not be smothered.

Mr. STEVENS of Pa.—I wish to know from my colleague whether, from his conversation, he had reason to believe that the Committees would be formed of a majority of those in favor of Free Soil?

Mr. WILMOT—I had reason to believe that a majority of the Committees would have placed on them a majority of fair Northern men. [Laughter.] Nothing more; and that was an inference I drew from the conversation. I have not the letter.

Mr. INGE—What do you mean by fair Northern men?

Mr. WILMOT—Men who would not act in Committee from political considerations, or attachment to party, and especially to this Administration, and who would not be asked to smother the expression of the people of the North.

Mr. INGE—I understand, by fair Northern men, those committed to the Wilmot Proviso.

Mr. WILMOT—Not by any means.

Mr. STANLY—What then?

Mr. WILMOT.—Those who are resolved that Slavery shall go no further. I believe that the people of the country are opposed to the slave traffic. Virginia will not tolerate it; Maryland will not tolerate it. Why is it carried on, in the face of the world, in the District of Columbia? I believe the people are opposed to it.

Mr. STEVENS of Pa.—I would ask whether my colleague has a copy of that letter. I want to know whether there is anything more in the correspondence than there was in the correspondence with Mr. Winthrop two years ago, when my friend and others would not vote for him.

Mr. WILMOT:—In my conversation with the gentleman from Indiana, I urged that as we were in a minority, still, according to the usage of all deliberative bodies, we should be on the Committees. The English House of Commons would grant it, and did give the minority an opportunity to be heard. I have not a copy of the correspondence. I can only state that it was brief, and that the gentleman's answer will disclose the substance of my inquiry.

[There were cries: "Read the letter," "the letter."]

It was read as follows:

WASHINGTON, Dec. 11, 1849.

HON. DAVID WILMOT.—*Dear Sir:* In answer to yours of this date I will state that, should I be elected Speaker, I will constitute the Committees on the District of Columbia, on the Territories, and on the Judiciary, in such manner as shall be satisfactory to your friends and to yourself. I am the representative of a free State, and have always been opposed to the extension of Slavery; and further, think that the Federal Government should be relieved from all responsibility of Slavery where they have the constitutional power to abolish it. WILLIAM J. BROWN.

Mr. BROWN proceeded to state his views. He thought that that was fair and liberal. For one, he would never favor the constitution of Committees in such a manner as to smother questions before the country. Let them be brought to light, and let the whole of the people's representatives act. Mr. Van Buren said that if a bill should be passed to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, he would be compelled to veto it. He had no sectional feelings. [The remarks of Mr. BROWN could not be distinctly heard, owing to the confusion in the hall.] In conclusion, he said that his position was now known, and he expressed to his friends his sincere thanks for the manner in which he had been sustained. He wished to withdraw his name. [Several gentlemen applauded.] There will be clapping on some other side; gentlemen, you are not out of the woods yet. He had always opposed the extension of Slavery, while he was disposed to let the subject rest as he found it in the Constitution.

Mr. BURT said that he was one of those representing the Southern States who had given their votes for the gentleman with some mistrust and with great reluctance. When he was brought forward as a candidate for Speaker, there was much inquiry and solicitude to know his opinions on certain subjects. He (Mr. B.) was spoken to, and conversed with some of his Southern friends. He said that as Mr. Brown had received a large vote in the House, as an honorable man he asked for no pledges, and he, (Mr. B.) if he were an honorable man, should give no pledges. [Laughter.] But he deemed it due to his friends and himself to say, with the understanding where the vote on the Texas question placed the gentleman, not that he was a Southern man, nor a Wilmot Proviso man, but occupying a position of certain gentlemen of the non-slaveholding States, a fair man, not committed to the South or to the North, he gave him his support. This consideration induced him and his friends to vote for the gentleman. He begged the gentleman from the Accomac district to get up and state the communication made to him.

Mr. BAYLY being thus called on, deemed it due to the gentleman from South Carolina and to himself, to state all that he knew about the matter. When the name of the gentleman from Indiana was presented, he was inquired of by a great number of gentlemen as to Mr. Brown's views. He stated that he served with him in the twenty-eighth Congress, and no man presented a fairer record than he did; that, in 1845, he voted against the resolution of Mr. Winthrop, at that time, to incorporate the Wilmot Proviso in the Oregon bill; then he knew Mr. Brown while he held an office in Washington, and believed him to be opposed to the Wilmot Proviso. It was suggested to have a conversation with Mr. Brown. He [Mr. Bayly] said that he thought that he could pledge himself that Mr. Brown was opposed to the Wilmot Proviso, and Mr. Brown told him that he was safe in doing so. He owed it to himself further to say, [although he felt indignant at the time, in consequence of the insinuation of Mr. Stanly, because it was too unworthy a suspicion to be entertained,] that he was exceedingly indebted to the gentleman from N. C. and the gentleman from Mass.—Had he known of the correspondence, he would not have voted for Mr. Brown.

Mr. HARRIS of Tenn. desired, if he could, to change his vote for Mr. Brown on the Journal, as he had voted under a misapprehension of the facts. That gentleman had pointed to the record with one hand, while he had acted in a contrary direction.

Mr. BURT had but a word more to say. They were assured that the honorable member who had been made so conspicuous on this occasion, was committed against the Wilmot Proviso. He had assurances of it yesterday, but not from Mr. Brown; and he ventured to say that if he had known of that correspondence, there was not a Southern man but would have regarded it as an insult to have been asked to vote for him.

Mr. INGE moved that the House proceed again to an election.

Mr. STANLY said that he was satisfied, and wished to withdraw the resolution.

Mr. BROWN.—One word. I have to say that I stand by what I remarked to my Southern friends. If a proposition were made to prevent the extension of Slavery in a Territorial bill, I would vote against it.

Mr. VENABLE said that some few days since he announced to this House that he could not vote for a Free Soiler or an Abolitionist, and the same or the next day he voted for Mr. Brown. It was but just to himself to place himself clearly and fairly before them. He was led to the conclusion to which he came by a conversation with Mr. Brown. During the Presidential canvass he received letters from him, in which he denounced Free-Soilism and Abolitionism. He had asked the gentleman whether he still held the opinions, and he said that he had not changed them. Mr. Venable voted for him under the full conviction that Mr. Brown thought that the Wilmot Proviso was unconstitutional, and was against it in every form. He said openly, before the world, that if he had known that Mr. Brown made a pledge in favor of the Wilmot Proviso, he would not have voted for him. He had voted for a Free-Soiler, not knowing him to be such.

Mr. ROBINSON, of Indiana, rose to the defence of Mr. Brown. He regretted that there was such a ground swell and unnecessary excitement; that there was a disposition to hunt down his colleague and to do him injustice.

Mr. BURT repeated, that when Mr. Brown was placed prominently before the House as a candidate for Speaker, he, as an honorable man, had asked him to make no pledges, and he had said that Mr. Brown, if he was an honorable man, would give none.

Mr. WOODWARD.—I was one of those who asked for his political creed. I understood that he gave no pledges how he would constitute the committees. I thought it an honorable one.

Mr. HUBBARD, of Alabama, said that he was the one who addressed Mr. Brown a letter. I only required non-interference—no more. He preferred a man from the North, to offer something on the altar of our common Union. He addressed him a letter, and Mr. Brown pointed to his course, and Mr. Hubbard was satisfied. He said that no man deserved the Speakership who should tell how the committees would be constituted. When Mr. Brown told Mr. Hubbard that he was a candidate, he thought that that gentleman should have furnished him with a copy of the letter which he had addressed to Mr. Wilmot.

Mr. STANTON of Tenn., did not regret that this transaction had come to light. He felt as one who had supported that gentleman that a weight rested on him. However, in this he was not alone, and it was for the purpose of throwing it off that he asked the privilege of a word of explanation. It was simply to say like the gentleman who had addressed the House in reference to the matter, that he had assurances that Mr. Brown was opposed to the Wilmot Proviso. Under this belief he had no idea that the gentlemen were entering into a coalition with or giving pledges to the Free Soilers. He had voted and continued to vote for him to the "bitter end." He felt in common with the whole South that he owed a debt of gratitude to those gentlemen who arrested the election by breaking party ties, to bring about an explanation of the transaction.

Mr. MCMULLEN, of Va., remarked that this was the first time he had ever attempted to speak a word in an assembly of a deliberate character. Anxious as he was to organize, he had his fears as to the gentleman from Indiana. Last night Madam Rumor mentioned the intelligence to-day communicated to the House. He claimed it to be his privilege to interrogate the gentleman, and know from him his position. I called, said Mr. McMullen, upon the gentleman from Indiana this morning, not feeling quite satisfied in my own mind as to his views upon the great question which agitates the country; and told him that it was rumored, and that he was charged with having given a pledge to the Free Soil party of the House in relation to the organization of the committees, and that we wanted to know if it were true. He stated to me *that no one had called on him upon the subject, and that he had made no pledge to them*, or of any kind, except that he had said that, in constituting the Committees on Territories and Committees on the District of Columbia, he would place the gentlemen of this House where he thought they should be placed, and that he would be governed in regard to the election of the committees by the standing and ability of gentlemen. I told him that I was pleased to hear this, and then asked him if he had given a pledge to the Free-Soilers that they should be placed on the committees named; *he answered no.* I left him satisfied that I could vote for him.

Mr. THOMPSON of Miss. rose to move an adjournment, but withdrew it at the request of

Mr. WM. J. BROWN, who said, there is nothing in the least inconsistent in what the gentleman from Virginia has just stated as having taken place in the conversation between us, and what I have stated to the House. I never made any pledge as to where I would place the Free-Soilers in making up the Committees; and if I had been elected Speaker of this House, *I would have so composed and made up the Committees that no one could have the least objection to them*; and I feel very confident that they would have been highly satisfactory to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. THOMPSON of Miss. was greatly rejoiced that these developements had been made; that is, it is far better that they had been made now, than after the election of Speaker. He thought that the matter was now pretty well understood by the house, and that it had been debated and canvassed long enough. He hoped, therefore, that the house generally would accept his proposition; which was, that the house do now adjourn till to-morrow at 12 o'clock.

[Cries of "Good," "Agreed," "Never,"—"Never adjourn," "Yes," "Oh no," from all parts of the house.]

Mr DURHAM, who, amid the utmost noise and confusion, was understood to contend that the whole conduct of his colleague, (Mr. Brown) the statements of his conversations, his letter to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, and his remarks to-day to the house, was that of a consistent and honorable man.

Mr. KAUFMAN asked a question, but it and the reply by Mr. Dunham were entirely lost in the excited hum of conversation.

Mr. DURHAM, when quiet was partially restored, was understood to say, that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Wilmot] had asked his colleague that, in the composition of their Committees, all sections of the country should be fairly represented. Was there anything improper in that? And his colleague [Mr. Brown] had stated that he would so frame the Committees.

[The noise was here so great, that it was impossible to hear a single word more that fell from the gentleman.]

The motion to adjourn was renewed.

Mr. MARSHALL of Ky.—On that motion I ask the ayes and noes.

The house refused to order them, and then, amidst a multiplicity of motions and indescribable confusion, at 8 1-2 o'clock the question of adjournment was put and carried.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Friday, Dec. 14, 1849.

Mr. HILLIARD of Alabama corrected the report of his remarks in the morning paper, and in the course of his remarks he said, that when the time came to divide the Union it would not be done here, but by the people themselves—the Representatives must be advised, and then act on the recommendation.

Mr. ASHMUN of Massachusetts rose for the purpose of offering a resolution. He was sure that after the scene of yesterday every gentleman must see the necessity for organization. The Clerk has no power to preserve order, and has no police over the room. He thought that it was due to the self-respect and peace of the members, and to the country, that there should be an election. In conclusion, he offered a Resolution that the House now proceed to vote for a Speaker, *viva voce*; and if on the first call of the roll no person shall receive a majority of all the votes, the roll shall be again called, and the person who receives the highest number of votes, provided he receives not less than one-third of the whole number, shall be declared elected.

WOODWARD, of South Carolina, offered a resolution, in substance, that Linn Boyd be chosen Speaker, *pro tem* now, and, on his assuming the chair, the House will proceed to the election of Sergeant at arms, Door-keeper, Clerk and Postmaster, and then to the election of Speaker. He earnestly pressed organization. Members, he said, were resolving themselves into a mob; he did not say they had become such, but the prelude had commenced. The lobbies, galleries, every place, were filled with a crowd of persons If such a scene as that which occurred yesterday should occur again, who knew what would follow? If a serious conflict had taken place, more than 300 persons would have rushed on to the floor of the hall. He spoke inclusive of himself, when he said that the present process was to resolve the House into a mob. Such a state had already commenced—it had not, however, gone far, and he trusted in God it would go no further.

Mr. WILLIAMS, of Tennessee, expressed his anxiety to see the House organized. The discussions of the questions relative to the North and the South would be interminable, and God only knew, unless there should be a check, when it would end. He proposed that the House, after the adoption of his resolution, shall proceed *viva voce*, and that the names of the lowest candidates be dropped, and the two highest be voted for. It was his opinion that four or five trials would settle the question.

Mr. ROOT, from Ohio, opposed all these propositions, saying, that by them the gag was sought to be applied to those who were ardently and warmly opposed to the extension of Slavery.

Mr. JOHNSON, from Tennessee, was glad that Mr. Ashman had introduced the resolution; it was similar to the one which he had introduced several days ago, and which was voted down. Neither of the great parties would give way or unite with the other, as they had realized in forty attempts to elect a Speaker. The only chance to succeed is by the adoption of the plan suggested. He reviewed the course of Mr. Winthrop as Speaker, and accused him of acting unfairly towards the South in appointing committees.

Mr. WINTHROP, of Mass. said a few words in reply.

Mr. JOHNSON resumed and said, that he loved South Carolina, but did not approve of the representative from Charleston dodging about as he did during the ballottings for Speaker. Why did he not vote for Mr. Winthrop now?

Mr. HOLMES, of South Carolina said that he was perfectly satisfied with what he had done towards placing Mr. Winthrop in the chair at the commencement of the last Congress. Mr. Winthrop, contined Mr. H. was a gentleman of talent, dignity, and virtue—in other words he was a gentleman. Mr. H. said he had no misgivings, and no repentance, even if he had lost the good opinion of the honorable gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. JOHNSON asked him why he did not do so again?

Mr. HOLMES was understood to say that that was not a proper question for the gentleman to ask.

Mr. JOHNSON continued, and spoke of slave-labor and other subjects not unfamiliar to the country.

In reply to a remark relative to North Carolina—

Mr. CLINGMAN, of that State, said that his State at present left others to speak, but when the time comes she will be among the most foremost to act. Ten days after the battle of Lexington, and eighteen months before the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia, a Convention in North Carolina declared political independence of Great Britain. Mr. [illegible] C. cordially approved the remarks of Mr. Toombs, the member from Georgia, but voted for Mr. Winthrop from personal considerations.

Mr. WOODWARD, of South Carolina stated another fact, that in the Convention, at Charlotte, in Mecklenberg county, a Delegate from South Carolina was present, and was on the Committee who reported the Declaration.

Mr. JOHNSON further spoke of the South, for if that section should be trampled on, Whigs and Democrats will plant themselves on the Southern end of the Constitution, which will be their helmet and shield.

Mr. HOUSTON of Delaware then offered a resolution:

Resolved, That until the House is organized, no member shall speak, at any time, longer than fifteen minutes.

On motion of Mr. Venable of North Carolina, all the propositions for election of Speaker were laid on the table.

Mr. STRONG of Penn. offered a resolution, which was adopted, that the House now proceed to the election, *viva voce*, and that no debate be allowed until the election be effected.

The House then proceeded to vote.

General Intelligence.

MURDER OF DR. PARKMAN IN BOSTON.—The Coroner's inquest in the case of Dr. Parkman, closed their labors on Wednesday last, after an investigation of ten days. They have found Dr. Webster guilty of the murder. The testimony on which it is founded, occupies eighty pages of foolscap paper, and by instruction of the Attorney General, it is to be kept secret until the meeting of the Grand Jury, who are to institute further investigations into the case, and report during the month of January. The following is the finding of the Inquest:

An inquisition taken at the city of Boston, within the county of Suffolk, thirteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, before Jabez Pratt, Esq., one of the Coroners of said County, upon the view of sundry parts of the body of a dead man, viz. a thorax, kidneys, pelvis, two thighs, left leg, and sundry bones, there lying dead, by the oaths of Osmyn Brewster, John L. Andrews, Pearl Martin, Thomas Restieux, Lewis Jones and Harum Merrill, good and lawful men, who being charged and sworn to inquire for the Commonwealth, when, how and by what means the dead man came to his death, upon their oaths do say—that they all have been demonstrated to be parts of one and the same person—that these parts of the human frame have been identified and proved to be the remains and parts of the dead body and limbs of Dr. George Parkman, late citizen of said Boston, aged about sixty years—that he came to his death by violence at said Boston, on the twenty-third day of November last, or between the hour of one and a half of the clock, in the afternoon of that day, (about which time he entered alive, and in good health, into the Medical College building, situated in North Grove street, in said Boston,) and the hour of four of the clock in the afternoon of the thirteenth day of November last, (when a portion of the said remains were found concealed in and under the apartments of Dr. John W. Webster, of Cambridge, in the county of Middlesex, in said college building,) in which building the residue of said remains were afterwards discovered; that he was killed in said college building by a blow or blows, wound or wounds, inflicted upon him with some instrument or weapon to the jurors unknown, and by means not yet known to said jurors, and that said blow or blows, wound or wounds, were inflicted upon him, and said means were used by the hands of said Dr John W. Webster, by whom he was killed. In witness whereof the said Coroner and Jurors to the Inquisition have set their hands and seals, the day and year above said.

JABEZ PRATT, Coroner,
OSMYN BREWSTER, Foreman,
JOHN L. ANDREWS, Secretary,
PEARL MARTIN,
THOMAS RESTIEUX,
LEWIS JONES,
HARUM MERKILL.

THE PARKMAN MURDER.—The *Journal* has the following remarks on this subject: It will be noticed that the Jury affirm that the remains were those of Dr. Parkman, and declare their conviction that he came to his death in consequence of wounds inflicted by Dr. Webster; but no opinion is expressed as to whether the act was one of wilful murder or manslaughter. The evidence upon which this verdict is based has been very properly withheld from the public, and the Coroner and his advisers are entitled to much credit for the firmness with which they have resisted the cravings of an idle curiosity for a public examination. Had a different course been adopted, and the evidence against the prisoner been made public at this stage of the proceedings, without that rebutting testimony which it is fair to presume he is prepared to produce, an unprejudiced Jury to try the case could not have been empanelled in the State. The accused would have been prejudged and condemned, and the first impressions of the Jury would have exercised an influence over their deliberations, unsuspected, perhaps, but none the less prejudicial to Dr. Webster.

The public should not hastily jump at a conclusion of guilt from the verdict of the Coroner's Jury. The evidence adduced before these tribunals is generally of an *ex parte* character, and it is not considered necessary, neither is it usual, for the suspected party to make his defence In this case it is not known even that any was attempted by Dr. Webster. It is obvious therefore that the verdict of the Jury can be regarded only as indicating that *circumstances which are unexplained*, but may admit of an explanation, furnish evidence satisfactory to the Jury that the deed of violence was committed by the accused. We make these remarks with a view of keeping the public mind unprejudiced, so far as in our power lies. If Dr. Webster is guilty, we entertain no fear that he will not receive his deserts. If innocent, he is entitled to an impartial trial, and to a fair hearing before the tribunal of public opinion.

Policy of the Spaniards in Cuba.—The following incident has been related to us [*Tribune*] by a friend recently returned from Havana:

"A short time ago two young men were discussing political affairs in the 'Longa' (Exchange) coffee-house in Havana. The tone of their remarks was temperate, but not exactly friendly to the Government. On a sudden they were joined by a third party, who, whether by design or indifferently, it is unknown, bid them both speak out more decidedly. How far they proceeded is unknown, but at 10 o'clock the same night one was in the *Moro* and the other at the *Punta*—prisons. The third was the spy, and remained at liberty."

But the subjoined is still worse:

"It was intended, in case of invasion of the island during the late excitement, to let loose the slavs on the invaders, and indeed on the whites, indiscriminately. This was a fixed plan with the Governor, and it was partially approved by a majority of the men by whom he is surrounded. The natural fear that when these slaves were once armed—admitting that they were successful—they would turn on the officers of the Government themselves, in order to secure the freedom thus given them through revenge, was amply discussed; but it did not change their determination."

From the Liberator.

WILLIAM W. BROWN TO HIS MASTER.

To Capt. Enoch Price, of St. Louis, Mo.:

SIR,—When I left you fifteen years ago, I had not the most remote idea that I should ever correspond with you, either publicly or privately. But as this seems to be an age of progression, and reform the order of the day, I have taken the liberty of addressing you. Since we last parted the world has made rapid advances in civilization. The principles of human rights have been to some extent discussed, and their blessings secured to a great portion of mankind. The amelioration of the condition of the human family seems to be the great idea of the present age. All Christendom is unsettled, and an ocean of mind is heaving and advancing towards the high mark of Christianity. Almost all the nations of the earth are discussing the rights of man. Not only the civilized, but the semi-civilized are acting under the guidance of the clearer light of the nineteenth century, and the higher motives of the present day.

The subject to which I wish to call your attention is one with which you are intimately connected, namely, Chattel Slavery in the United States. The institution of Slavery has been branded as infamous by the good and wise throughout the world. It is regarded as an offence in the sight of God, and opposed to the best interests of man. Whatever in its proper tendency and general effect destroys, abridges, or renders insecure, human welfare, is opposed to the spirit and genius of Christianity. There is a proverb, that no man can bind a chain upon the limb of his neighbor, without inevitable fate fastening the other end around his own body. This has been signally verified by the slaveholders of America. While they have been degrading the colored man, by enslaving him, they have become degraded themselves; in withholding education from the minds of their slaves, they have kept their own children in comparative ignorance. The immoralities which have been found to follow in the train of Slavery in all countries and all ages, are to be seen in their worst forms in the Slave States of America. This is attributable to the degree of ignorance which is deemed necessary to keep the enslaved in their chains It is a fact admitted by the American slaveholders themselves, that their slaves are in a worse state of heathenism than any other heathen in the civilized world. There is a constant action and reaction—the immoralities of the slave contaminate the master, the immoralities of the master contaminate the slave. The effects of the system are evident in the demeanor of the slaveholders. For example, they are proverbial for their want of courtesy to those who differ from them in opinion. They are noted for their use of the 'bowie-knife,' an instrument peculiar to the peculiar institution.' Slaveholding parents sending their children to the free States to be educated, frequently find a difficulty in getting boarding places for them, from the mere fact that they have been found to spread their vices among the children with whom they have associated in the free States, to such an extent that parents have often taken their children out of the school on the introduction of the children of slaveholders. As deep and malignant as is the prejudice in the free States against the colored people, they are those who would rather have the companionship of colored youths for their children, than the society of the sons of the most distinguished slaveholders in the South.

These are the legitimate results of an institution, which sets at defiance the laws of God and the reason of man—Believe me, sir, it is from no wish of mine to hurt the feelings of yourself, or those with whom you are associated, that I give publicity to these facts. Connected as I am with the slaveholders of America by the blood that courses through my own veins, if I could I would throw the mantle of charity over the disgusting institution, and everything connected with it. But the duty I owe to the slave, to truth, and to God, demands that I should use my pen and tongue so long as life and health are vouchsafed to me to employ them, or until the last chain shall fall from the limbs of the last slave in America and the world.

Sir, you are a slaveholder, and by the laws of God and of nature, your slaves, like yourself, are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and you have no right whatever to deprive them of these inestimable blessings which you claim for yourself. Your slaves have the same right to develope their moral and intellectual faculties that you have; but you are keeping them in a state of ignorance and degradation; and if a single ray of light breaks forth and penetrates to their souls, it is in despite of your efforts to keep their minds obscured in mental darkness.

You profess to be a Christian, and yet you are one of those who have done more to bring contempt upon Christianity in the United States, by connecting that religion with Slavery, than all other causes combined. Were it not for Slavery, the United States would be what they have long professed to be, but are not, the 'land of the free, and the home of the brave.' The millions in Europe, who are struggling for political and religious liberty, have looked in vain to the United States for sympathy. The Americans, busily engaged in spreading Slavery over new territory, and thereby forging chains for the limbs of unborn millions, are not in the position to sympathize with the oppressed in other countries. America has her Red Republicans, as well as her black slaves; their hands are crimsoned with the blood of their victims. If the atrocities recently practised upon defenceless women in Austria make the blood run cold through the veins of the humane and good throughout the civilized world, the acts committed daily upon the slave women of America should not only cause the blood to chill, but to stop its circulation.

In behalf of your slaves, I ask you, in the name of the God whom you profess to worship, to take the chains from their limbs, and to let them go free. It is a duty that we owe to God, to the slave, and to the world. You are a husband:—I ask you then to treat the wives of your slaves a you would have your own companion dealt with. You are a father:—I ask you, therefore, to treat the children of your slaves as you would have your own legitimate offspring treated. When you take your own child upon your knee, and thank God that no one can snatch it from you, and place it upon the auction block, and sell it to the highest bidder, think of the children that you have sold from their parents. When you look upon your own parents, sisters and brothers, and feel thankful that you are kept in safety together, think of him who now addresses you, and remember how you, with others, tore from him a beloved mother, an affectionate sister, and three dear brothers, and sold them to the slave trader, to be carried to the far South, there to be worked upon a cotton, sugar or rice plantation, where, if still living, they are now wearing the galling chains of Slavery. By your professed love of America, I conjure you to use your influence for the abolition of an institution which has done a thousand times more to blacken the character of the American people, and to render the name of their boasted free republic more odious to the ears of the friends of human freedom throughout the world, than all their other faults combined. I will not yield to you in affection for America, but I hate her institution of Slavery. I love her, because I am identified with her enslaved millions by every tie that should bind man to his fellow-man. The United States has disfranchised me, and declared that I am not a citizen, but a chattel: her Constitution dooms me to be your slave. But while I feel grieved that I am alienated and driven from my own country, I rejoice that, in this land, I am regarded as a man. I am in England, what I can never be in America, while Slavery exists there.

Sir, you may not be pleased with me for speaking to you in so plain a manner; but in this I have only done my duty. See that you do yours!

I am, sir, with all due respect,
WM. WELLS BROWN.

LONDON, Nov. 23d, 1849.

Died.

On Monday morning, WILLIAM AUGUSTINE, youngest son of Dr. A. L. COX, aged 10 years and 10 months.

At Roxbury, Mass., 12th inst. of consumption, ELIZA H. ANDERSON, aged 18, daughter of Rev. Dr. Anderson, Secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions.

At Jamaica Plains, near Boston, 10th inst., JOSEPH BALCH, Esq., President of the Boston Merchants' Ins. Co., aged 64.

At Newport 3d inst., Hon. WM. HUNTER, LL. D., in 1841 U. S. Minister at the Court of Brazil.

THE FAIR.

THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR will be opened in the Saloon of the Assembly Buildings, on Tuesday evening, the 18th instant, and will continue during the following three days. A large variety of useful and fancy articles will be offered for sale, and the Fair will doubtless surpass, in brilliancy and attractiveness, any of our previous ones. We hope for a large attendance from the city and country. The beauty of the Fair will well repay a visit to it.

Are our friends in the country intending to supply us with evergreens? They will be wanted in abundance. A large quantity of flour, and of poultry will be needed.

Circles in the country, who wish to have tables at the Fair, will please announce their wish to

Poetry.

BRITANNIA'S THANKSGIVING DAY DREAM.

An awful Plague went through the land: it thinn'd the close-pent town,
Swept the scant hamlet, crossed the stream, and clomb the breezy down;
Unseen it breathed, till poison seethed in the sweet summer air;
Before its face was terror, upon its track despair.

For three sad months BRITANNIA mourned her children night and day,
For three sad months she strove in vain the pestilence to stay:
Medicine, helpless, groped and guessed, and tried all arts to save,
But the dead carried with them their secret to the grave.

Sudden the dark hand ceased to smite: BRITANNIA drew free breath,
As passed away the shadow of the minister of Death:
And upon all her children a solemn charge she laid,
That high and low should bow them down, because the plague was staid.

Then in the night that followed on that thanksgiving day,
BRITANNIA saw a vision, as on her bed she lay:
Of a great region stretched about, a crowded careful land,
Wherein men plied all labors, of head, and heart, and hand.

In it a city, high o'er which a golden temple shone,
Wherein the great god Mammon was sitting on a throne,
While millions round about his feet, men, women, old and young,
Offered their hearts in homage, with various tone and tongue.

Ill matched that city's dwellings; low hovel, palace high;
Saloons with stately pageants, huts where wretches slunk to die;
Well-ordered streets, with tracts hard by wherein the laboring breath
Inhaled the subtle poison that makes life a lingering death.

There for aught save Mammon-worship there were few hearts to care,
For aught but Mammon-service there were few hands to spare;
Still the pale slaves grew paler, the task-masters more stern,
Few there of wise had time to love, of ignorant to learn.

Death sat at the gaunt weaver's side, the while he plied the loom;
Death turned the wasting grinder's wheel, as he earned his bread and doom;
Death, by the wan shirtmaker, plied the fingers to the bone;
Death rocked the infant's cradle, and with opium hushed its moan.

Nor in the City only did the Spectre hold his place;
In the village and the hamlet, too, he showed his constant face:
In the foul sty where sire and son, mother and maiden slept,
Where the infant round its playground, the dunghill, crowed and crept.

At bed and board, in cup and can, in worktime and in play,
In the street as in the dwelling, in the night as in the day,
Sat Death in Life, a presence that none did seem to note,
Until the grim Guest sudden rose and bared his arm and smote.

Then was weeping in the hovel, and wailing in the hall,
And over all the land was fear, stretched like a funeral pall;
And even Mammon's votaries paused in their absorbing prayer,
And looked up from their worship, with a daunted, doubting air.

And turning in their trouble unto their God and Lord,
They saw Death sit on Mammon's throne—'twas Death that they adored.
His bare jaws set in scornful smile, the Spectre from his shroud
Stretched forth his fleshless arm across the pale and palsied crowd.

"Your day of thanks," it said, "is come, your day of thanks is o'er;
Millions to-day have prayed their prayer, that never prayed before.
What reck I of your thankfulness, ye fools, or of your prayer?
One plague hath passed from out your homes, how many still are there?

"What can one day of prayer avail, if from the church ye go
To your homes unswept, ungarnished, to your world of wealth and woe?
Pray as you will, my stronghold's still in every ditch and drain;
Though now my servants hide their heads, they will come forth again.

"Why shrink from Death, ye that build up his seat in every home?
How be thankful at his going, ye that ever bid him come?
What wonder he makes revel, when still ye spread his board?
Need he be chary of his plagues when still ye feed his hoard?

"I am a giant. Would ye learn to nip me in my growth?
Bring light of Heaven and rain of Heaven to those that pine for both;
Build Homes for toil, where toil may live in decency and health;
Let ignorance and want have tithe of knowledge and of wealth.

"Show that the bond of brotherhood that linketh man with man
Will no less bind, though never forged, since first the world began;
Unlearn that sinful selfishness, that ye so sore have rued,
And strive to find in common grief the seeds of common good."—*Punch*.

TRUE HONOUR.

Whoso in pomp of proud estate (quoth she)
Does swim, and bathes himself in courtly bliss,
Does waste his days in dark obscurity,
And in oblivion ever buried is:
Where ease abounds, it's eath to do amiss;
But who his limbs with labours, and his mind
Behaves with cares, cannot so easy miss.
Abroad in arms, at home in studious kind
Who seeks with painful toil, shall honor soonest find.

In woods, in waves, in wars, she wonts to dwell,
And will be found with peril and with pain
Nor can the man that moulds in idle cell,
Unto her happy mansion attain;
Before her gate high God did Sweat ordain,
And wakeful Watches ever to abide:
But easy is the way, and passage plain
To pleasure's palace; it may soon be spied,
And day and night her doors to all stand open wide.
—*Spenser*.

Miscellany.

THE *Literary World* gives its readers, in advance of the publication of the work itself, some sheets of a forthcoming life of Mahomet, by Washington Irving, which we copy:

Night Journey of the Prophet

FROM MECCA TO JERUSALEM; AND THENCE TO THE SEVENTH HEAVEN.

An Asylum being provided for Mahomet in the house of Mutem Ibn Adi, one of his disciples, he ventured to return to Mecca. The supernatural visitation of genii in the valley of Naklah, was soon followed by a vision or revelation far more extraordinary, and which has ever since remained a theme of comment and conjecture among devout Mahometans. We allude to the famous night journey to Jerusalem, and thence to the seventh heaven. The particulars of it, though given as if in the very words of Mahomet, rest merely on tradition; some, however, cite texts corroborative of it, scattered here and there in the Koran.

We do not pretend to give this vision or revelation in its amplitude and wild extravagance, but will endeavor to seize upon its most essential features.

The night on which it occurred, is described as one of the darkest and most awfully silent that had ever been known. There was no crowing of cocks nor barking of dogs; no howling of wild beasts nor hooting of owls. The very waters ceased to murmur, and the winds to whistle; all nature seemed motionless and dead. In the mid watches of the night, Mahomet was aroused by a voice crying, "Awake, thou sleeper!" The angel Gabriel stood before him. His forehead was clear and serene, his complexion white as snow, his hair floated on his shoulders; he had wings of many dazzling hues, and his robes were sown with pearls and embroidered with gold.

He brought Mahomet a white steed of wonderful form and qualities, unlike any animal he had ever seen; and in truth, it differs from any animal ever before described. It had a human face, but the cheeks of a horse: its eyes were as jacinths and radiant as stars. It had eagle's wings all glittering with rays of light; and its whole form was resplendent with gems and precious stones. It was a female, and from its dzzling splendor and incredible velocity was called Al Borak, or Lightning.

Mahomet prepared to mount this supernatural steed, but as he extended his hand, it drew back and reared.

"Be still, Oh Borak!" said Gabriel; "respect the prophet of God. Never wert thou mounted by mortal man more honored of Allah."

"Oh Gabriel!" replied Al Borak, who at this time was miraculously endowed with speech; "did not Abraham of old, the friend of God, bestride me when he visited his son Ishmael? Oh Gabriel! is not this the mediator, the intercessor, the author of the profession of faith?"

"Even so, Oh Borak, this is Mahomet Ibn Abdallah, of one of the tribes of Arabia the Happy, and of the true faith. He is chief of the sons of Adam, the greatest of the divine legates, the seal of the prophets. All creatures must have his intercession before they can enter paradise. Heaven is on his right hand, to be the reward of those who believe in him; the fire of Jehennam is on his left hand, into which all shall be thrust who oppose his doctrines."

"Oh Gabriel!" entreated Al Borak; "by the faith existing between thee and him, prevail on him to intercede for me at the day of the resurrection."

"Be assured, Oh Borak!" exclaimed Mahomet, "that through my intercession thou shalt enter paradise."

No sooner had he uttered these words, than the animal approached and submitted to be mounted, then rising with Mahomet on its back, it soared aloft far above the mountains of Mecca.

As they passed like lightning between heaven and earth, Gabriel cried aloud, "Stop, Oh Mahomet! descend to the earth, and make the prayer with two inflections of the body."

They alighted on the earth, and having made the prayer—

"Oh friend and well beloved of my soul!" said Mahomet; "why dost thou command me to pray in this place?"

"Because it is Mount Sinai, on which God communed with Moses."

Mounting aloft, they again passed rapidly between heaven and earth, until Gabriel called out a second time. "Stop, Oh Mahomet! descend and make the prayer with two inflections."

They descended, Mahomet prayed, and again demanded, "Why didst thou command me to pray in this place?"

"Because it is Bethlehem, where Jesus the Son of Mary was born."

They resumed their course through the air, until a voice was heard on the right, exclaiming, "Oh Mahomet, tarry a moment, that I may speak to thee; of all created beings I am most devoted to thee."

But Borak pressed forward, and Mahomet forbore to tarry, for he felt that it was not with him to stay his course, but with God the all-powerful and glorious.

Another voice was now heard on the left calling on Mahomet in like words to tarry; but Borak still pressed forward, and Mahomet tarried not. He now beheld before him a damsel of ravishing beauty, adorned with all the luxury and riches of the earth. She beckoned him with alluring smiles: "Tarry a moment, Oh Mahomet, that I may talk with thee. I, who, of all beings, am the most devoted to thee." But still Borak pressed on, and Mahomet tarried not; considering that it was not with him to stay his course, but with God the all-powerful and glorious.

Addressing himself, however, to Gabriel, "What voices are those I have heard?" said he; "and what damsel is this who has beckoned to me?"

"The first, Oh Mahomet, was the voice of a Jew; hadst thou listened to him, all thy nation would have been won to Judaism.

"The second was the voice of a Christian: hadst thou listened to him, thy people would have inclined to Christianity.

"The damsel was the world, with all its riches, its vanities, and allurements: hadst thou listened to her, thy nation would have chosen the pleasures of this life, rather than the bliss of eternity, and all would have been doomed to perdition."

Continuing their aeriel course, they arrrived at the gate of the holy temple at Jerusalem where, alighting from Al Borak, Mahomet fastened her to the rings where the prophet before him had fastened her. Then entering the temple, he found there Abraham, and Moses, and Isa (Jesus), and many more of the prophets. After he had prayed in company with them for a time, a ladder of light was let down from heaven, until the lower end rested on the Shakra, or foundation-stone of the sacred house, being the stone of Jacob. Aided by the angel Gabriel, Mahomet ascended this ladder with the rapidity of lightning.

Being arrived at the first heaven, Gabriel knocked at the gate. Who is there? was demanded from within. Gabriel. Who is with thee? Mahomet. Has he received his mission? He has. Then he is welcome and the gate was opened.

This first heaven was of pure silver, and in its resplendent vault the stars are suspended by chains of gold. In each star an angel is placed sentinel, to prevent the demons from scaling the sacred abodes. As Mahomet entered, an ancient man approached him, and Gabriel said, "Here is thy father Adam, pay him reverence." Mahomet did so, and Adam embraced him, calling him the greatest among his children, and the first among the prophets.

In this heaven were innumerable animals of all kinds, which Gabriel said were angels, who, under these forms, interceded with Allah for the various races of animals upon earth. Among these was a cock of dazzling whiteness, and of such marvellous height, that his crest touched the second heaven, though five hundred years' journey above the first. This wonderful bird saluted the ear of Allah each morning with his melodious chant. All creatures on earth, save men, are awakened by his voice, and all the fowls of his kind chant hallelujahs in emulation of his note.

They now ascended to the second heaven. Gabriel, as before, knocked at the gate; the same questions and replies were exchanged; the door opened and they entered.

This heaven was all of polished steel, and dazzling splendor. Here they found Noah; who, embracing Mahomet, hailed him as the greatest among the prophets.

Arrived at the third heaven, they entered with the same ceremonies. It was all studded with precious stones, and too brilliant for mortal eyes. Here was seated an angel of immeasurable height, whose eyes were seventy thousand days' journey apart. He had at his command a hundred thousand battalions of armed men. Before him was spread a vast book, in which he was continually writing and blotting out.

"This, Oh Mahomet," said Gabriel, "is Asrael, the angel of death, who is in the confidence of Allah. In the book before him he is continually writing the names of those who are to be born, and blotting out the names of those who have lived their allotted time, and who, therefore, instantly die."

They now mounted to the fourth heaven, formed of the finest silver. Among the angels who inhabited it was one five hundred days' journey in height. His countenance was troubled, and rivers of tears ran from his eyes. "This," said Gabriel, "is the angel of tears, appointed to weep over the sins of the children of men, and to predict the evils which await them."

The fifth heaven was of the finest gold. Here Mahomet was received by Aaron with embraces and congratulations. The avenging angel dwells in this heaven, and presides over the element of fire. Of all the angels seen by Mahomet, he was the most hidious and terrific. His visage seemed of copper, and was covered with wens and warts. His eyes flashed lightnings, and he grasped a flaming lance. He sat on a throne surrounded by flames, and before him was a heap of red-hot chains. Were he to alight upon earth in his true form, the mountains would be consumed, the seas dried up, and all the inhabitants would die with terror. To him, and the angels his ministers, is intrusted the execution of divine vengence on infidels and sinners.

Leaving this awful abode, they mounted to the sixth heaven, composed of a transparent stone, called Hasala, which may be rendered carbuncle. Here was a great angel, composed half of snow and half of fire; yet the snow melted not, nor was the fire extinguished. Around him a choir of lesser angels continually exclaimed, "Oh Allah! who hast united snow and fire, unite all thy faithful servants in obedience to thy law."

"This," said Gabriel, "Is the guardian angel of heaven and earth. It is he who dispatches angels unto individuals of thy nation, to incline them in favor of thy mission, and call them to the service of God; and he will continue to do so until the day of resurrection."

Here was the prophet Musa (Moses,) who, however, instead of welcoming Mahomet with joy, as the other prophets had done, shed tears at sight of him.

"Wherefore dost thou weep?" inquired Mahomet.

"Because I behold a successor, who is destined to conduct more of his nation into paradise than ever I could of the backsliding children of Israel."

Mounting hence to the seventh heaven, Mahomet was received by the patriarch Abraham. This blissful abode is formed of divine light, and of such transcendent glory that the tongue of man cannot describe it. One of the celestial inhabitants will suffice to give an idea of the rest. He surpassed the whole earth in magnitude, and had seventy thousand heads; each head seventy thousand mouths; each mouth seventy thousand tongues; each tongue spoke seventy thousand different languages, and all these were incessantly employed in chanting the praises of the Most High.

While contemplating this wonderful being, Mahomet was suddenly transported aloft to the lotus-tree, called Sedrat, which flourishes on the right hand of the invisible throne of Allah. The branches of this extend wider than the distance between the sun and the earth. Angels more numerous than the sands of the sea-shore, or of the beds of all the streams and rivers, rejoice beneath its shade. The leaves resemble the ears of an elephant; thousands of immortal birds sport among its branches, repeating the sublime verses of the Koran. Its fruits are milder than milk and sweeter than honey. If all the creatures of God were assembled, one of the fruits would be sufficient for their sustenance. Each seed incloses a houri, or celestial virgin, provided for the felicity of true believers. From this tree issue four rivers; two flow into the interior of paradise, two issue beyond it, and become the Nile and Euphrates.

Mahomet and his celestial guide now proceded to Al Mamou, or the House of Adoration; formed of red jacinths or rubies, and surrounded by innumerable lamps, pepetually burning. As Mahomet entered the portal, three vases were offered him, one containing wine, another milk, and the third honey. He took and drank of the vase containing milk.

"Well hast thou done; auspicious is thy choice," exclaimed Gabriel. "Hadst thou drunk of the wine, thy people had all gone astray."

The sacred house resembles in form the Caaba at Mecca, and is perpendicularly above it in the seventh heaven. It is visited every day by seventy thousand angels of the highest order. They were at this time making their holy circuit, and Mahomet, joining with them, walked round it seven times.

Gabriel could go no further. Mahomet now traversed, quicker than thought, an immense space; passing through two regions of dazzling light, and one of profound darkness. Emerging from this utter gloom he was filled with awe and terror at finding himself in the presence of Allah, and but two bow-shots from his throne. The face of the Deity was covered with twenty thousand veils, for it would have annihilated man to look upon its glory. He put forth his hands, and placed one upon the breast and the other upon the shoulder of Mahomet, who felt a freezing chill penetrate to his heart and to the very marrow of his bones. It was followed by a feeling of ecstatic bliss, while a sweetness and fragrance prevailed around, which none can understand, but those who have been in the divine presence.

Mahomet now received from the Deity himself, many of the doctrines contained in the Koran; and fifty prayers were prescribed as the daily duty of all true believers.

When he descended from the divine presence and again met with Moses, the latter demanded what Allah had required. "That I should make fifty prayers every day."

"And thinkest thou to accomplish such a task? I have made the experiment before thee. I tried it with the children of Israel, but in vain; return, then, and begin a diminution of the task."

Mahomet returned accordingly, and obtained a diminution of ten prayers; but when he related his success to Moses, the latter made the same objection to the daily amount of forty. By his advice Mahomet returned repeatedly, until the number was reduced to five.

Moses still objected. "Thinkest thou to exact five prayers daily from the people? By Allah! I have had experience with the children of Israel, and such a demand is vain; return, therefore, and entreat still further mitigation of the task."

"No," replied Mahomet, "I have already asked indulgence until I am ashamed." With these words he saluted Moses and departed.

By the ladder of light he descended to the temple of Jerusalem, where he found Borak fastened as he had left here, and mounting, was borne back in an instant to the place whence he had first been taken.

THE GIBBET AND THE DEATH BED.

OUR Little Bird looks from a chimney-top.

A gallows stands upon a prison-roof. A mutter and slow roar of voices drones upward through the morning mists—upward as from the devils pit; and then gabbling mockery, shouting, and blaspheming laughter.

A man and woman are to be put to death, that, forfeiting life, they may in the agony show how sinful it is to kill. Authority is to do sacrificial reverence to the vital flame of man, by treading it into ness!

The early sun shines through upon the house-tops. The mists melt apart, and in its stark black nakedness, stands the unmuffled gibbet.

The bell tolls, and upturned from below there is a pavement of stony faces. One broad compact of inwedged human feature, with ten thousand differences, yet making one vast up-looking monster, with thousands of straining eyes, whetted for a feast.

Still the solitary gallows waits. And in the pause, fancy beholds a shade, man-shaped, seated on the scaffold. It is the shade of Cain, of the First Murderer—branded by God, that the Homicide might not be killed; that every throb even of the fratricidal heart might teach a fearful reverence of human life?——

The white tips of the wands appear—and now there is Christ's minister, not shadowy, but in the flesh; eloquent, tuneful with Christ's own words, touched with immortal music. Words that promise starry crowns to the two penitent heads, crimson with homicide—blasted with murder. A moment, and if strong repentance bear them upward, they at whom their fellow-men recoil as at things outcast and hellish—they shall be among the blessed. Happiness shall be anticipated by remorseless cruelty, and the trap of the gallows shall be as the vestibule to the Abode of Glory.

For the hangman hangs not for the other world. Christianity, that, where we read it, sheds no blood to prove the preciousness of human blood outpoured, crowns the penitent. And human law, in its grave bungling—in its ceremonious, circumambient coursings—only speeds the evil doer to the fruition of his hopes. The sword of justice cuts off a few years of heart-ache in this world; whilst the sustaining priest promises joy eternal to a full remorse.

But there is one remorseless, stony. She rejects the hope of an immortal issue. A few moments, and to her own desolate thought, even now shuddering upon annihilation, she will be so much weight of clod—the clay image of a murderess. In what chapter, what verse, what sentence of the book of Christianity, does spectacled Law read its right to deal death upon this crimsoned woman, foredating her distant natural hour, that, with its gradual advance, might bring benigner influence, touching that stony heart to flesh?——

The priest reads on. The hangman hears the signal word—a Gospel Word!—the bolt is drawn, and man and woman are, by human presumption, cast beyond human dealings—at the moment a part and parcel of the tremendous Future. And Law is vindicated! And the sacredness of life has been made manifest to all men—nay, is yet solemnly manifest in the two swayed carcases, not yet cold from the retributive dealing of hangman justice.

Yes, human life *is* sacred. A hundred thousand human eyes behold the proof. The hangman—ghastly mountebank!—upon his scaffold, may look grimly complacent at his work, and cry aloud—"Good Christian people! Life is sacred. You may not doubt it; for I have killed this man and woman that you may know what a solemn thing is life—how very, very sacred is human blood."

Man and woman are duly slain. And with the act that rids the earth of their abomination, there seems for the time to come a new freedom upon the world. We breathe as though relieved of a foul oppression. We have got rid of the besetting presence of a daily charnel wickedness that seemed to taint the air we drew—to poison the social atmosphere.—The idea of the atrocity did at times intrude—a household nightmare. Convinced we are, that thoughts of the horrible pair in their last night of life, troubled the sleep of many a good man and woman in many a virtuous homestead. Assured we are, that many, even behind comfortable curtains, were unwillingly made to count the hours of the doomed man and wife—so arbitrary had become the thought of murder among us; so unceasingly and familiarly was it made to mingle with our daily imaginings. And for much of this, let us thank the coming hangman and those gentlemen ushers of the gibbet, who do the preliminary ceremonies in Sabbath print. The murderer kills one man; and the law, in due process of killing the murderer, enables the men who make a commodity of the gallows to kill the decencies of human society. For days together, they make about our common way a haze of blood.

The hour has passed; and the show ends. The living man and woman, an hour since fainting and stumbling up the narrow stair to their doom, are now sent downward—readily handled—with the seal of human justice on their clay faces. And death, even shameful death, redeems something of the foulness that awhile ago festered them; for now they are the cast-off coverings of immortal spirits: and what their destiny, and where are they? The very question that the clay suggests, pleads with an unthought charity for the clay itself. May not the wisdom of human law be somewhat perplexed by the tranquil face of a gibbet corpse, law's own black handiwork, done on law's presumption? Let the dead lips seem to ask of the Law—"Wherefore didst thou thrust forth my spirit into eternity? By what Christian rule didst thou outrage the holiness of death by making death infamous?" And, to our thinking, we know not where Law shall find a justifying answer. Human justice, to our thought, stands baffled even by a murderer's corpse. There is no balance so nice, that it may weight human blood.

Our Little Bird takes sudden flight. Away towards the Surrey hills. Two or three minutes on the wing, and now it settles upon a tree that gently waves beside a chamber window. There is a deep quietude about the house, for death is only lingering ere it crosses the threshold.

In the chamber is an old man dying. He is crowned with the righteousness of a beautiful life. His days have been alike profitable to his fellow-man and to his own soul. Kindred and friends wait and watch about him. Every tear that falls is a sweet offering to death; a tribute to its consummating holiness of mortal hopes. The man has played out a long life for the calm glory of the time—for the hallowing loveliness of this parting hour. And it falls upon him and about him, and the hum of earth stills, and then deepens into immortal music. And this is death, the inevitable—and thank GOD! inevitable—fate of the righteous man, whose life has been a daily excellence.

And yet this death, the best reward of the best—we in our perverseness make the worst punishment of the worst. The same cup that the saint drinks of, we force to the lips of the murderer; and both alike—with the blessing of penitence—drink life eternal. And by this ignorance—we would speak with humility—it has ever been our faith that the sacredness of death is outraged; that holy, consecrating Death is affronted in its solemnity when hurried from its certain purpose, when suborned by man to do a seeming ignominy upon his fellow. For the infamy is, but ceremonial: man himself denounces the presumption that would punish beyond the stroke of death. Man—legislative man!—becomes so modest, merciful, when looking dimly forth upon the Unknown—the Impossible!

The good man, on Sunday next to be hymned and wept to his honored grave—and the murderers, thrust prayerless to-night in a prison-hole, a meal for burning lime that cheats the worm—all lie in the same wide bed. Death makes all even, but—we say it—death's sanctity by force is violated.

We would seek punishment of life. Of the living hours would we make a scourge for murder. Of the running sand would we make withering seconds. Every hour shall fall with its weight, and the murderer's grave be "thoroughly earned." Not that we have unreflecting tenderness for crime would we save the criminal, but that we would not desecrate the holiness of death; death, that, when men shall be better taught, will be revealed in his true beneficence: the deliverer and not the tyrant.

Finally, where is our right to summon death to do our self-willed handiwork? We can find no written warrant for it in Christianity—though a sort of Christianity is prone to put on Urim and Thummim to enunciate it. Any way, when we would make an offering to the sanctity of life, should we strangle a man to vindicate the holiness of existence?

And you would let the murderer live? Yes. That even his life respected, might preach to men the solemnity of life. But his life should be continual mortification—constant penance. Like the dial, in the sunniest time, his soul should know the present hour only by the shade.—*Punch's Little Bird*.

DEATH WARNINGS.

THE first symptom of approaching death with some is the strong presentiment that they are about to die. Ozonam, the mathematician, while in apparent health, rejected pupils from the feeling that he was on the eve of resting from his labors, and he expired soon after of an apoplectic stroke. Flechier, the divine, had a dream which shadowed out his impending dissolution, and, believing it to be the merciful warning of heaven, he sent for a sculptor and ordered his tomb. "Begin your work forthwith," he said at parting; "there is no time to lose;" and unless the artist had obeyed the admonition, death would have proved the quicker workman of the two. Mozart wrote his Requiem under the conviction that the monument he was raising to his genius would, by the power of association, prove a universal monument to his own remains. When life was flitting fast, he called for the score, and, musing over it, said, "Did I not tell you truly that it was for myself I composed this death-chant?" Another great artist, in a different department, convinced that his hand was about to lose its cunning, chose a subject emblematical of the coming event. His friends inquired the nature of his next design, and Hogarth replied, "The end of all things." "In that case," rejoined one of the number, "there will be an end of the painter." What was uttered in jest was answered in earnest, with a solemn look and a heavy sigh: "There will," he said,—"and therefore the sooner my work is done the better." He commenced next day, labored upon it with unintermitting diligence, and when he had given it the last touch, seized his palette, broke it in pieces, and said, "I have finished." The print was published in March under the title of "Finis," and in October "the curious eyes which saw the manners in the face," were closed in dust. Our ancestors, who were prone to look into the air for causes which were to be found upon earth, ascribed these intimations to supernatural agency. It was conjecture that the guardian genius, who was supposed to attend upon man, infused into his mind a friendly though gloomy foreboding, or more distinctly prefigured to him his end by a vision of the night. John Hunter has solved the mystery, if mystery it can be called, in a single sentence: "We sometimes," he says, "feel within ourselves that we shall not live, for the living powers become weak, and the nerves communicate the intelligence to the brain." His own case has often been quoted among the marvels of which he afforded the rational explanation. He intimated on leaving home that if a discussion, which awaited him at the Hospital took an angry turn, it would prove his death. A colleague gave him the lie; the coarse word verified the prophecy, and he expired almost immediately in an adjoining room. There was everything to lament in the circumstance, but nothing at which to wonder, except that any individual could show such disrespect to the great genius, a single year of whose existence was worth the united lives of his opponents. Hunter, in uttering the prediction had only to take counsel of his own experience without the intervention of invisible spirits. He had long labored under a disease of the heart, and he felt the disorder had reached the point at which any sharp agitation would bring on the crisis. A memorable instance of the weakness which accompanies the greatness of man when an abusive appellation could extinguish one of the brightest lights that ever illumined science. No discoverer has left more varied titles to fame, and none has given more abundant evidence that he would have added to the number the longer he lived, for his mind teemed with original ideas, and fast as one crop was cleared away another sprang up.

Circumstances which at anonher time would excite no attention are accepted for an omen when health is failing. The order for the Requiem with Mozart, the dream with Flechier, turned the current of their thoughts to the grave. The death of a contemporary, which raises no fears in the young and vigorous, is often regarded by the old and feeble as a summons to themselves. Foote, prior to his departure for the continent, stood contemplating the portrait of a brother-actor, and exclaimed, his eyes full of tears, "Poor Weston!" In the same dejected tone he added, after a pause, "Soon others shall say, "Poor Foote!"—and, to the surprise of his friends, a few days proved the justice of the prognostication. The expectation of the event has a share in producing it, for a slight shock completes the destruction of prostrate energies. Many an idle belief in superstitious times lent a stimulous to disease, and pushed into the grave those who happened to be trembling on its brink. Kings and princes took the shows of the skies for their particular share. Louise of Savoy, the mother of Francis I., when sick of a fever, saw, or fancied she saw a comet. "Ha!" she exclaimed, "there is an omen which appears not for people of low degree: God sends it for us great. Shut the window; it announces my death; I must prepare." Her physicians assured her she was not in a dying state. "Unless," she replied, "I had seen the sign of my death I should have said the same, for I do not myself feel that I am sinking." She sank, however, from that time, and died in three days. Confidence in the physician is proverbially said to be half the cure, because it keeps up the hope, and lends to the body the support of the mind; but when despair co-operates with the distemper, they re-act upon one another, and a curable complaint is easily converted into a mortal disease. The case of Wolsey was more singular. The morning before he died he asked Cavendish the hour, and was answered past eight. "Eight of the clock," replied Wolsey, "that cannot be,—eight of the clock; eight of the clock,—nay, nay, it cannot be eight of the clock, for by eight of the clock shall you lose your master." The day he miscalculated,—the hour came true. On the following morning as the clock struck eight his troubled spirit passed this life. Cavendish and the bystanders thought he must have had a revelation of the time of his death, and from the way in which the fact had taken possession of his mind, we suspect that he relied upon some astrological prediction which had the credit of a revelation in his own esteem.—*Extract: "Signs of Death" in London Quarterly Review for Oct.*

MY BOY.

"There is even a happiness
That makes the heart afraid."—HOOD

ONE more new claimant for
Human fraternity,
Swelling the flood that sweeps
On to eternity.
I who have filled the cup
Tremble to think of it:
For be it what it may,
I must yet drink of it.

Room for him into
Ranks of humanity;
Give him a place in your
Kingdom of vanity!
Welcome the stranger with
Kindly affection;
Hopefully, trustfully,
Not without dejection.

See, in his waywardness,
How his fist doubles;
Thus pugilistical,
Daring life's troubles.
Strange that the neophyte
Enters existence
In such an attitude,
Feigning resistance.

Could he but have a glimpse
Into futurity,
Well might he fight against
Farther maturity:
Yet does it seem to me
As if his purity
Were against sinfulness
Ample security.

Incomprehensible,
Budding immortal,
Trust all amazedly,
Under life's portal:
Born to a destiny
Clouded in mystery,
Wisdom itself cannot
Guess at its history.

Something too much of this
Timon-like croaking;
See his face wrinkle now.
Laughter-provoking.
Now he cries lustily—
Bravo, my hearty one!
Lungs like an orator
Cheering his party on.

Look how his merry eyes
Turn to me pleadingly!
Can we help loving him—
Loving exceedingly?
Partly with hopefulness,
Partly with fears;
Mine, as I look at him,
Moisten with tears.

Now then to find a name;—
Where shall we search for it?
Turn to his ancestry,
Or to the church for it?
Shall we endow with
Title heroic,
After some warrior,
Poet or stoic?

One aunty says he will
Soon 'lisp in numbers,'
Turning his thoughts to rhyme,
E'en in his slumbers:
Watts rhymed in babyhood,
No blemish spots his fame—
Christen him even so;
Young Mr. Watt's his name.
—*Knickerbocker*.

PANTISOCRACY.

FROM Bath Mr. Coleridge went up to London, apparently with the view of consulting some friend respecting the publication of the 'Fall of Robespierre.' From thence he thus writes to my father: 'The day after my arrival I finished the first act: I transcribed it. The next morning Franklin (of Pembroke Coll. Cam., a *cidevant Grecian* of our school—so we call the first boys) called on me and persuaded me to go with him and breakfast with Dyer, author of 'The Complaints of the Poor,' 'A Subscription,' &c., &c. I went; explained our system. He was enraptured; pronounced it impregnable. He is intimate with Dr. Priestly, and doubts not that the Doctor will join us He showed me some poetry, and I showed him part of the first act, which I happened to have about me. He liked it hugely; it was 'a nail that would drive.' . . . . . Every night I meet a most intelligent young man, who has spent the last five years of his life in America, and is lately come from thence as an agent to sell land. He was of our school. I had been kind to him: he remembers it, and comes regulary every evening to 'benefit by conversation,' he says. He says £2,000 will do; that he doubts not we can contract for passage under £400; that we shall buy the land a great deal cheaper when we arrive in America than we could do in England; or 'why,' he adds, 'am I sent over here?' That twelve men may *easily* clear 300 acres in four or five months; and that for $600 a thousand acres may be cleared and houses built on them. He recommends the Susquehanna, from its excessive beauty and its security from hostile Indians. Every possible assistance will be given us; we may get credit for the lands for ten years or more, as we settle upon them. That literary characters make *money* there: &c., &c. He never saw a *bison* in his life, but has heard of them: they are quite backwards. The mosquitoes are not so bad as our gnats; and after you have been there a little while they don't trouble you much.

From London Mr. Coleridge returned to Cambridge, and writes from thence, immediately on his arrival, full of enthusiasm for the grand plan:—'Since I quitted this room what and how important events have been evolved! America! Southey! Miss Fricker! . . . . Pantisocracy! Oh! I shall have such a scheme of it! My head, my heart, are all alive. I have drawn up my arguments in battle array: they shall have the *tactitian* excellence of the mathematician, with the enthusiasm of the poet. The head shall be the mass; the heart, the fiery spirit that fills, informs, and agitates the whole.' And then in large letters, in all the zeal of Pantisocratic fraternity, he exclaims,—'SHAD GOES WITH US: HE IS MY BROTHER!!' and, descending thence to less emphatical calligraphy, 'I am longing to be with you: make Edith my sister. Surely, Southey, we shall be frendoitoi meta frendous—most friendly where all are friends. She must, therefore, be more emphatically my sister. . . . C——, the most excellent, the most Pantisocratic of aristocrats, has been laughing at me. Up I arose, terrible in reasoning. He fled from me, because 'he would not answer for his own sanity, sitting so near a madman of genius.' He told me that the strength of my imagination had intoxicated my reason, and that the acuteness of my reason had given a directing influence to my imagination. Four months ago the remark would not have been more elegant than just; now it is nothing.'

In the mean time, my father, though not quite so much carried away as Mr. Coleridge, was equally earnest in forwarding the plan as far as it could be forwarded without that which is the sinews of emigration, as well as of war, and without which, though 'the root of all evil,' not even Pantisocracy could flourish. 'In March we depart for America,' he writes to his brother Thomas, then a midshipman on board the Aquilon frigate, 'Lovell his wife, brother, and two of his sisters; all the Frickers; my mother, Miss Peggy, and brothers; Heath, apothecary, &c.; G. Burnett, S. T. Coleridge, Robert Allen, and Robert Southey. Of so many we are certain, and expect more. Whatever knowledge of navigation you can obtain will be useful, as we shall be on the bank of a navigable river, and appoint you admiral of a cockboat. . . . .

'My aunt knows nothing as yet of my intended plan; it will surprise her, but not very agreeably. Everything is in a very fair train, and all parties eager to embark. What do your common blue trousers cost? Let me know, as I shall get two or three pairs for my working winter dress, and as many jackets, either blue or grey; so my wardrobe will consist of two good coats, two cloth jackets, four linen ones, six brown Holland, pantaloons, and two nankeen ditto for dress. . . . .

'My mother says I am mad; if so, she is bit by me, for she wishes to go as much as I do. Coleridge was with us nearly five weeks, and made good use of his time. We preached Pantisocracy and Aspheteism everywhere. These, Tom, are two new words, the first signifying the equal government of all, and the other the generalization of individual property: words well understood in the city of Bristol. We are busy in getting our plan and principles ready to distribute privately. . . The thoughts of the day, and the visions of the night, all centre in America. Time lags heavily along till March, but we have done wonders since you left me.'—*Life of Southey*.

HUMOROUS JEWISH ORIGIN OF THE CUSTOM OF MAKING FOOLS ON THE 1ST. OF APRIL.—This is said to have been begun from the mistake of Noah sending the dove out of the ark before the water had abated on the first day of the month among the Hebrews, which answers to our first of April; and to perpetuate the memory of this deliverance, it was thought proper, whoever forgot so remarkable a circumstance, to punish them by sending them upon some sleeveless errand similar to that ineffectual message upon which the bird was sent by the patriarch.

"The subsequent, too, has been cut out of some newspaper: 'No antiquary has ever tried to explain the custom of making April fools. It cannot be connected with the "Feast of the Ass," for that would be on Twelfth-day; nor with the ceremony of the "Lord of Misrule," in England; nor of "The Abbot of Unreason," in Scotland, for these frolics were held at Christmas. The writer recollects that he has met with a conjecture somewhere, that April-day is celebrated as a part of the festivity of New Year's day. That day used to be kept on the 25th of March. All antiquaries know that an octave, or eight days, usually completed the festivals of our forefathers. If so, April day, marking the octave's close, may be supposed to be employed in fool-making, all other sports having been exhausted in the foregoing seven days. Douce says, "I am convinned that the ancient ceremony of the feast of fools has no connexion whatever with the custom of making fools on the the first of April. The making of April fools, after all conjectures that have been made touching its origin, is certainly borrowed by us from the French, and may, I think, be deduced from this simple analogy:—The French call them April fish, *i. e.* simpletons; or, in other words, silly mackerel, who suffer themselves to be caught this month. But, as with us, April is not the season of that fish, we have properly substituted the word fool."'

"Mr. Hampson relates a curious tale of a French lady, who, on April 1, 1817, pocketed a watch in a friend's house, and when charged with the fact before the police, she said it was *un poisson d'Avril*, an April joke. On denying that the watch was in her possession a messenger was sent to her apartment, who found it on a chimney-piece, upon which the lady said she had made the messenger *un poisson d'Avril*. She was convicted, and imprisoned until April 1, 1818, and there to be discharged *comme un poisson d'Avril*."

THE REV. S. G. OSBORNE thus comments, in the *London Times*, upon Dickens' letter on public execution which we published last week:

"I am afraid he (Mr. Dickens) was not so placed that he could look into the rooms, &c., of Winter-terrace, where the outfall of the moral sewerage of what is called *respectable society* found its vent—where respectable (?) persons used opera glasses to assist their sight in watching the agonies of a man and his wife strangled a few yards from them—where champagne and cigars helped to while away the hours of this respectable company, just as porter, tobacco, pipes, ribalry, and indecency, helped the non-respectables to kill the hours they were compelled to wait, thirsting for the toll of the bell which was to invite them to the exhibition they so desired to see. I, like Mr. Dickens, have seen something of what is called justly the awful condition of those who live lives of utter degradation—open, undisguised vice. I have seen what ignorance, the result of neglect, and depravity from the days of childhood, can do to level men to scarce an equality with brutes in brutality; but neither reality nor fiction ever yet pictured to me such utter absence of all humanity, such an ut